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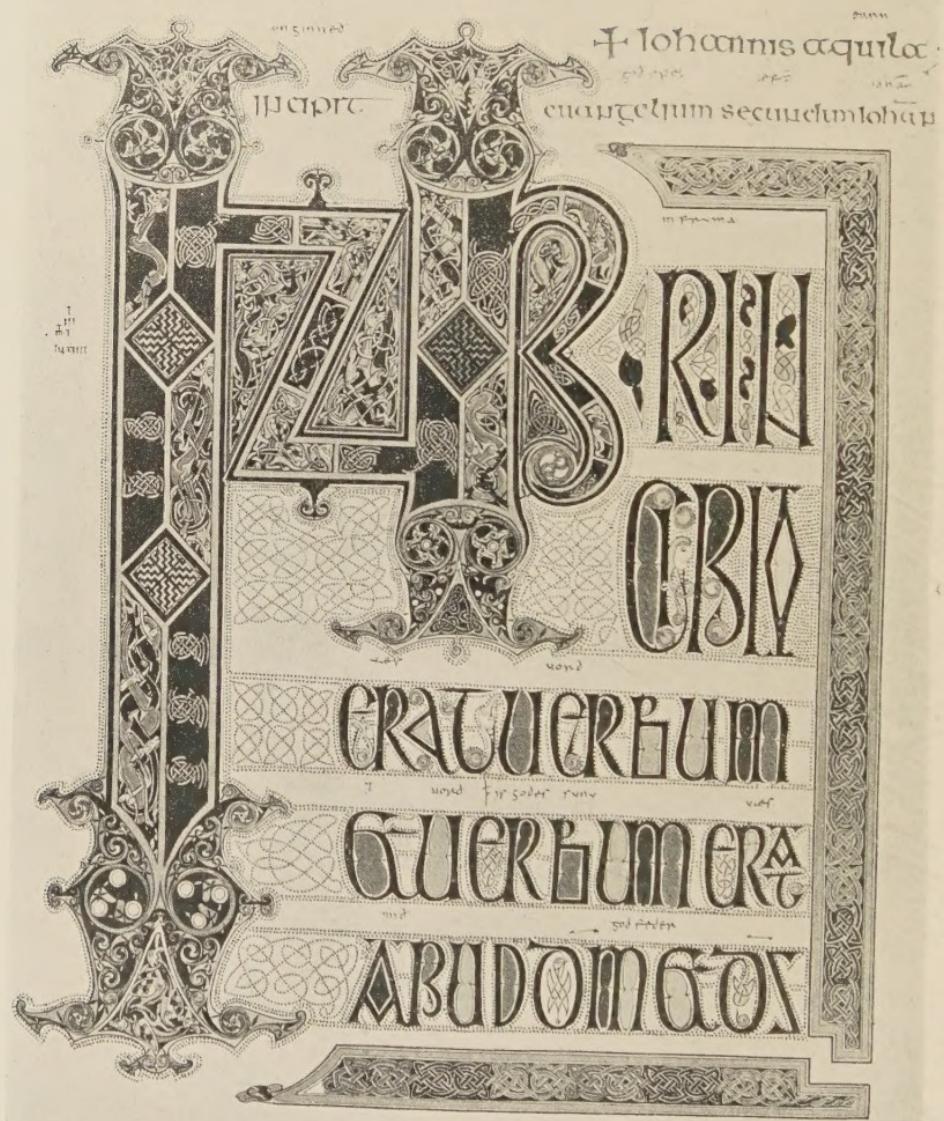
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THE GOLDEN DAYS OF THE
EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH



ORNAMENTAL INITIAL LETTER OF THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN IN THE
LINDISFARNE MS.

Vol. III., Frontispiece.]

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THE GOLDEN DAYS OF THE EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THEODORE
TO THE DEATH OF BEDE

BY SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH
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"THE LIVES OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT AND AUGUSTINE THE MISSIONARY"
"THE HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS" ETC. ETC.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS
MAPS, TABLES, AND APPENDICES

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NOTE.—I am greatly indebted to the Authors and Publishers of the works I have quoted for their permission to use the plates I have borrowed from them.

THE GOLDEN DAYS OF THE EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH

CHAPTER XI

ST. CUTHBERHT

WE will now turn from the Civil history of Northumbria at this time to its Ecclesiastical history. The most prominent figure in it was doubtless Cuthberht, not that he fills any notable place among the makers of history, but that in romance and popular estimation the ascetic hermit of Farne outweighs all his clerical contemporaries in the north, in fame and in the potency he exercised not only when living but more especially after he was dead. I shall take it for granted here that the Irish legend of the origin of Cuthberht is a fable, as I have shown in the introduction. His name is English, and in his poetical life of the Saint, Bede says he was born in Britain.¹ It is, nevertheless, a strange proof of the power of some legends that Ussher, Ware, Colgan, and even Dr. Reeves in his notes to Wattenbach should have

¹ *Op. cit.* chap. i.

countenanced the view, and it was certainly countenanced very largely at Durham.

It is clear from the absence of any reference to the place of his birth or to his parentage that he was of humble origin. Bede claims that he had heard a story about his early life from Trumwine, the Bishop of the Picts,¹ who had been told it by Cuthberht himself. It illustrates the extravagant ascetic views then prevailing, which extended even to small children, who were taught that it was really wicked to jest and play games with other boys. Cuthberht excelled at such pastimes, and was a leader in them, and never seemed to weary, notably at leaping, running, wrestling, or standing on his head. One day a number of boys, Cuthberht being one, were engaged in a wrestling match in a meadow, when a small boy of about three years old ran up to him and exhorted him not to indulge in such idle sports, but to subject his mind as well as his limbs to a grave deportment. When Cuthberht took no heed of what he said, the small boy began to weep bitterly and, addressing him, asked how he who had been consecrated by God to teach even his elders could thus behave and be thus frivolous among children. Cuthberht listened attentively, and, being much moved by what the smaller child had said, altered his conduct, "and thus," moralises our historian, "the wantonness of a boy was restrained by the agency of a child."²

A story like this is the despair of history, for

¹ Bede, *H.E.*, iv. 12.

² *Op. cit.* chap. iii.

Cuthberht must himself have been a child under eight years at the time, and he actually told the story of himself! What is not less remarkable is Bede's filling so large a space in his history with the tale, and being evidently in full sympathy with its moral, namely, that it was wicked for children to romp and play. It is remarkable that a thousand years later the same theories in regard to children were revived again in the same form, and are known to us as Puritanism!

The story here told from Bede is not contained in the earlier biography of the Lindisfarne monk. Of Cuthberht's early life, as there reported, we only know that he was brought up from about the age of eight by a widow named Kenswith or Kensped, at a village called Hruringaham or Ruringaham. Mr. C. Bates suggests the possibility that the harrying of Northumberland by Caedwalla and Penda after the death of Ædwin in 633 may easily have left him an orphan and Kenswith a widow.¹

The first incident reported of Cuthberht, both in the *Anonymous Life* and by Bede, represents him as a shepherd-boy tending his master's flock

¹ "The Home of St. Cuthberht's Boyhood," *Arch. Ael.*, new series, x. 155.

The same ingenious writer says that this Ruringaham was probably represented by a farm called Wrangham on high ground, about a mile and a half to the north-east of Doddington, in Glendale, on the way to Lindisfarne, and he contests the claims of the Scotch writers who favour a village six miles east of Melrose. The former is generally called Wrangham in the Dryburgh muniments. Mr. Bates says that one of the wells at Doddington is dedicated to St. Cuthberht, while a cave called Cuddy's Cave, which, according to uniform tradition, was once inhabited by the Saint, is situated near the village of Holborn in a direct line between Wrangham and Lindisfarne (*ib.* 158).

(*commendans suis pecora quae pascebit dominis*)¹ on the hills bordering the river Leder. The name of the river is given in the former authority only. It is a stream now called the Leader, and coming from the north falls into the Tweed two miles below Melrose.² Montalembert compares his life there with that of the shepherds of Hungary in the *pustas* on both sides of the Danube.³

While his companions were asleep, Cuthberht, we are told, saw a sudden light streaming down from above, in which were choirs of angels coming down from heaven and then returning to their heavenly home escorting a soul of exceeding brightness, and he judged that he must have been either a bishop or some holy man among the faithful. When morning came it turned out, so says the saga, that Saint Aidan of Lindisfarne had died that very night and at the time when Cuthberht had his vision. The shepherd boy thereupon determined to abandon his occupation and to enter a monastery.⁴

The equation between this story and Aidan's death makes it probable that Cuthberht adopted the monastic life in 651, and in that year it is dated by Symeon of Durham.⁵

The monastery he chose was close to his own home, namely, that of Melrose, then called Mailros.⁶

¹ Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, chap. liv.

² Raine, *St. Cuthberht*, p. 16.

³ *Op. cit.* iv. 381.

⁴ *Vit. Anon.*, par. 8; Bede's *Prose Life*, ch. iv.; *Metr. Life*, ch. iv..

⁵ i. 3.

⁶ The name has a Celtic etymology, *mul* meaning bare and *rhos* a promontory (see Archbishop Eyre, *Cuthberht*, 13).

This, says Dr. James Raine, is not the religious house which we know so well, but an earlier monastic establishment a short distance below it, on the same bank of the Tweed. The site of it is still called Old Melrose. It is on a green sheltered slope a little below the point where the Tweed receives the scanty waters of the Leader, and then takes a bold semicircular sweep under the woods and rocks of Bemerside.¹

Melrose was an offshoot from Lindisfarne, and its foundation was attributed to St. Aidan. At this time Eata, one of his pupils and its first abbot, was still there, and Boisil was the *praepositus*, or prior. Bede describes the latter as possessing many virtues and as having a prophetic spirit, of which some reported instances will be related presently. Another Bosel, or Boisil, became the first Bishop of Worcester.² The name of the prior survives in the little town of St. Boswells on the Tweed, and in the dedication of the church at Tweedmouth.³

When Cuthberht applied for admission into the fraternity at Melrose, Eata was away, and he was received by Boisil, who foreseeing, we are told, the great career which he was presently to have, compared him to Nathaniel. Bede claims that this story had been told him by a certain Sigfred, who was a youth in the monastery at Melrose at the time. He afterwards became "a devout priest and long-tried servant of the Lord in our monastery,"

¹ *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, i. 725.

² *Vide supra*, ii. 374, 388.

³ Plummer, ii. 267.

that is to say, at Jarrow. Bede says he was in failing health, but he seems to have recovered and eventually become Abbot of Wearmouth, dying in 689.

Boisil kept Cuthberht near himself and cherished him. A few days later Abbot Eata returned, and he received permission to give the young shepherd the tonsure and to install him as one of the brotherhood, among whom he became conspicuous for his diligence in reading, working, watching, and praying. He was strong and vigorous, and, Bede says, that, like Samson, who was a Nazarite, he abstained from intoxicating drinks, but otherwise he did not exercise exceptional abstinence in his food, as he did not wish to unfit himself for his necessary work.

We have seen how King Oswy's son Alchfrid, for the redemption of his soul, gave Abbot Eata a domain in his kingdom called Inhrypun (*i.e.* Ripon) where to construct a monastery.¹ Taking some of the brethren with him, of whom Cuthberht was one, Eata founded a monastery there, instituting the same rule as existed at Melrose. There Eata became abbot, continuing to hold the same post at Melrose, while Cuthberht was appointed guest-master or hospitaller. While he held the office he was reported to have entertained an angel. The saga is prettily told, and is worth repeating. One day, going out

¹ Archbishop Eyre says the monastery is reported to have stood between Stainergate and Priest's Lane, and to have been called the Scots Monastery (*op. cit.* 17, note).

early in the morning from the inner buildings of the monastery to the guest-chamber, he found a young man sitting there, and thinking he was a mortal he entertained him in the usual way. He gave him water to wash his hands with, and himself bathed his feet, wiped them with a napkin and placed them in his bosom, humbly chafing them with his hands, as was apparently his wont with travellers. He asked him to remain till the third hour of the day, that he might then be refreshed with food, and be better able to face the snowy blasts which he would meet. The stranger said he could not stay, for he had very far to go. Cuthberht still pressed him to remain, and when the hour of tierce had arrived and meal-time was at hand, he laid the table and offered his guest food, and bade him refresh himself while he went out to get some newly baked bread. When he returned his guest was gone, and he saw no footprints in the snow. Thereupon Cuthberht, who greatly wondered, replaced the table in the inner apartment, on entering which he perceived a sweet fragrance all about, and looking round he saw three loaves of uncommon whiteness and beauty, and he said to himself that an angel of God must have visited him. He had come to feed and not to be fed, since the loaves were such as earth cannot produce. They surpassed lilies in whiteness, roses in smell, and honey in flavour, and must have come from the paradise of Eden. From that time so greatly did his sanctity and zeal

increase, that he was often allowed to see and converse with angels, and when hungry was refreshed with food specially prepared for him by the Lord.¹

In 661 Eata and the brethren he had with him at Ripon, having refused to follow King Alchfrid when he adhered to the Roman use, returned once more to Melrose, and were replaced at Ripon by St. Wilfrid. A year later an epidemic broke out in the north, the precursor of the plague of 664. A year later still, the epidemic was ravaging England, and among those who were attacked and succumbed was Boisil, the prior of the abbeys at Lindisfarne and Melrose. Cuthberht was also attacked, and the brethren spent all the night in watching and praying for his life and recovery. When he heard of what they had done, he is reported to have said : "What am I doing in bed? It is impossible that God should shut His ears to the prayers of so many of His devout servants!" He thereupon asked for his staff and hosen, and, rising up, tried to walk, leaning on his crutch. His strength increased daily, and the glandular swelling in his thigh (which was one of the usual signs of the plague) was absorbed, but he never quite got rid of its effects, and he continued to be troubled with pain from it for the rest of his life. Boisil, who survived Cuthberht's recovery for seven days, is said by Bede to have foretold his own death, and that the pestilence would last for three years before it would overtake Abbot Eata, when he

¹ *Vit. Anon.*, par. 12; Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, chap. vii.

too would be taken away, not, however, by the plague, but by the disease which the doctors call dysentery (*morbo quem dysenteriam medici appellant*). This also came about, as did his prophecy that Cuthberht would become a bishop.¹

When Boisil warned his pupil Bede that he had only seven days to live, and bade him diligently try and learn while he himself was able to teach, Bede asked him what book he would advise them to read together which would take a week only to get through. “*St. John the Evangelist*,” he replied, “for my copy of the book is stitched in seven sections, and we can read one every day.”²

The famous relic-hunter, Ælfrid Westowe, claimed to have removed the remains of Boisil from Melrose to Durham,³ and in Segbrok’s catalogue of relics, dated in 1383, we have recorded: “The scull of St. Boysil the priest in a shrine ornamented with silver and gold and divers images; the book of St. Boysil, the schoolmaster of St. Cuthberht; some of the robes and hair of St. Boysil the priest in a little ivory casket; the inner tunic of St. Boysil the priest in an ivory turret, with images of gold and silver wonderfully ornamented; the comb of St. Boysil the priest in a black case.”

Boisil was succeeded in his office by Cuthberht.

¹ Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, chap. viii.

² See Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, chap. viii.; Raine’s *Bede*, 19. Turgot says this book was in 1000 still kept at the Church of Durham (*Sym. Dun.*, i. chap. 3). As we shall see, it is probable that it still exists.

³ Raine’s *Cuthberht*, 60.

On becoming prior, Cuthberht did not relax in his zeal, but, as Bede puts it, he worked hard at converting the surrounding populace far and wide. He reports how many of them had profaned religion by their evil ways, and in the time of the plague had abandoned the sacrament of the faith which they had adopted, and had had recourse to the remedies offered by their old idolatry, and by means of incantations and amulets, and other mysteries of demoniacal art, had sought to arrest the pestilence which had been sent by the Almighty. This, as it stands, reads rather like a fatalistic argument.¹

Cuthberht used, like his master Boisil, to travel about the country, preaching and instructing the people in the neighbouring villages. "It was then the custom," says Bede, "when a clerk or priest came to a village for all the villagers to throng and hear him." Cuthberht was wont to visit remote districts situated in wild mountainous places "fearful to behold," where it was difficult from the poverty and distance to supply them with instructors, and where the old ways, no doubt, con-

¹ These amulets (*alligaturae* they are called in the biography of the Saint, while in his *Eccl. History* Bede calls them phylacteries) were used by the early Christians, and much patronised by them. The latter took them over from paganism, merely changing the formulæ, which were supposed to have curative properties. Raine aptly quotes a modern instance from the proceedings of the Court of the Vicar-General at Durham on the 23rd July 1604, when at Wooler a man and woman were charged as common charmers of the sick, "who used to bring white ducks or drakes, and to sett their bills in the mouths of the sick persons, meanwhile mumbling uppe their charms in such strange manner as is damnable and horrible" (Raine's *Cuthberht*, 19, note).

tinued to survive, to much later times, in spite of all effort. He was often away for a week or even a month at a time on these errands, being all the time in the mountains.¹ It was customary for the travelling missionaries, and notably for St. Cuthberht, to use tents on such journeys.²

There were, in remote places, lonely groups of shepherds' huts, which having been roughly put together in summer were in winter ruinous and deserted. Stevenson speaks of these temporary habitations being still to be seen among the wilder Northumbrian hills, and as being called "sheals" or "shealings," and of their having long before arrested the attention of Camden when he visited this part of the country. The latter says of them: "All over 'the wastes,' as they call them, as well as in Gilsland, you would think you saw the ancient *nomadi*, a martial sort of people that from April to August lie in little huts, which they call sheals or shealings, here and there among their several flocks."³

Once when Cuthberht found himself benighted, he entered one of these shealings to pass the night. He tied his horse to a ring in the wall, and set before it a bundle of hay, or rather of thatch, which the wind had blown from the roof, to eat, and meantime spent the night in prayer. Suddenly in the midst of the psalmody he noticed the horse raise its head, and pulling at the thatching

¹ Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, chap. ix.

² See Bede, *Op. Min.*, 109-277; "*tabernaculo solemus in itinere vel in bello uti*," Bede, *Op.*, xii. 249; Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 240.

³ Camden, *Brit. ed.*, 1679.

of the roof draw it down. There fell out of it a folded napkin, in which the Saint found a loaf and a piece of meat yet warm, sufficient for a single meal. He divided these, and gave one-half to the horse, reserving the rest for himself. This story Bede claims that he heard from a devout priest of his own monastery named Ingwald, who reported that he had himself heard it from Cuthberht after he became Bishop.¹

In another story of a miracle we have a nice trait of the Saint reported. He was on one of his journeys, accompanied by a boy, when his provisions ran short, and his companion's dejection was cured by Cuthberht pointing out a sea-eagle flying aloft, and remarking that by its agency their want would be supplied. As they proceeded along the river bank (the *Anon. Life* calls it the river Tesgeta)² they noticed the eagle sitting there, whereupon he said to the boy : "Do you see our handmaid ? Run and search if the Lord has not provided us something." The boy soon brought back a large fish, which the bird had captured. "Why have you not given our handmaid her share?" he said. "Cut it in two, and give her the portion which she deserves for her service"—which was accordingly done.³

When he was at Melrose, Cuthberht used to visit Abbess Æbbe at Coldingham. I have told a story about one of these visits in a later page.⁴

¹ Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, chap. v.

² Stevenson suggests this is a corruption of Tevyota, the Teviot. Bede, *Op.*, *Hist. Minora*, ii. 268.

³ *Vit. Anon.*, par. 17 ; Bede, *Vit.*, xii.

⁴ Appendix I.

A fourth adventure of his, which happened when he was visiting the abbey at Tiningham, will also be found later on.¹

Bede reports another of Cuthberht's miracles, which also has a local colour, and which he claims to have learnt about at first hand. A certain nobleman (*comes*) called Sibba, who lived near the river "Opide" (?) (*juxta fluvium Opide*),² begged the Saint to visit his house, where he had a servant who was at the point of death, and asked him to cure him. He accordingly blessed some water, which he bade them give to him. As some of this was being given to the sick man for the third time he fell into a deep and tranquil sleep, in which he remained the whole night, and in the morning was restored to perfect health. The servant who administered the water was called Baldhelm. "He is living," says Bede, "to this day, and is now a priest in the church of Lindisfarne, where he leads a holy life, and holds it sweeter than honey (*referre melle dulcius habet*) to relate the miracles of the man of God."³

Of Cuthberht's aversion to, and perhaps dread of, women, whom he seems to have thought the most dangerous of worldly pitfalls, we have many stories. Their rigid exclusion from all the churches where he was honoured is explained by Symeon of Durham in his *History of the Church of Durham*, chap. xxii., as

¹ Appendix I.

² Stevenson suggests a corruption of Tivide, i.e. the Tweed (*op. cit.* 279).

³ Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, 25; *Vit. Anon.*, 36.

due to his horror at the debaucheries and ill-conduct of the nuns of Coldingham, which I have described earlier.¹ On the death of the royal abbess Æbbe, Cuthberht insisted that the two sexes at Coldingham should be rigidly separated, and he afterwards caused a special church to be built at Lindisfarne, known to the inhabitants as the “Grene Cyrice” or Green Church, since it was situated on a green site, and he ordered that women who wished to hear Mass or the reading of the Bible should go thither, and should never approach the church used by himself and his monks. “This custom,” says Bede, “is so diligently observed, even to the present day, that it is unlawful for women to set foot even within the cemeteries of those churches where Cuthberht’s body in its subsequent peregrinations found a temporary resting-place, unless compelled to do so by the approach of an enemy or the dread of fire.” Symeon tells some stories to show how severe the divine penalty was believed to be for any breach of this rule. In one case he mentions a certain Sungeova, daughter of Bevon, called Gamel (*i.e.* the old), who was struck dead for trying to cross the churchyard to avoid the puddles outside. Another woman, the wife of a rich man who afterwards became a monk, wished to see the beautiful ornaments in the church, and having ventured to intrude too far lost her reason and committed suicide.²

The same rule was observed at Durham, where the Saint afterwards lay. Thus a story is told that

¹ Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, 25; *Vit. Anon.*, 36. ² *Hist. Ec. Dun.*, ii. 8 and 9.

when David, King of Scotland, married Maud, daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, and the wedding party was passing through Durham on their way to Scotland, the bride with her waiting-maids went, out of motives of curiosity, towards the church, and had reached the limit appointed to women in the churchyard when they were told that no woman ever passed it with impunity. The Queen good-naturedly turned back, but Helisend, her waiting-maid, the most skilful embroiderer and weaver of purple in the kingdom, determined to make the experiment, and relying on her chastity put on the black cowl and hood of a monk, and, without being seen, took up her place in the church. She was at once struck with trembling, and could not move, and St. Cuthberht himself, we are told, in the most offensive terms ordered Bernard the Sacrist to eject the false monk. This was done. The offender afterwards became a nun and made her peace with the Saint.

"It appears," says Mr. Raine, "that at that time the line of demarcation was in the churchyard. If it be true that the blue cross which still reaches from pillar to pillar in the pavement of the middle aisle of the nave of the Cathedral at Durham, between the north and south doors, was at a later period the *ne plus ultra*, the Saint must have relaxed considerably in his misogyny."

Mr. Raine tells a similar story, showing that Cuthberht was no respecter of persons, and according to which, Queen Philippa, wife of that most

potent person, Edward III., who in 1333 tried to sleep with her royal husband in the priory (now the deanery), was compelled by the monks to quit the place in hot haste and to seek shelter in the castle, clad only in her nether garments.¹

It is a conspicuous feature of Durham Cathedral that there is no real Lady Chapel, as in most large churches. The legendary reason for this is because St. Cuthberht objected to the intrusion of a woman (even of so great a personage as our Lady) upon his quarters, and expressed himself in a very emphatic way to Bishop Pudsey, who proposed to build such a chapel at the east end, and who thereupon raised the beautiful, if bizarre, Galilee at the west end. The story was probably invented to explain the Galilee.

More than one miracle was attributed to this portion of Cuthberht's career. They are mostly otiose. I will report one which has more local colour. There was at this time a monastery at the mouth of the river Tine in Lothian, which was afterwards known as Tiningham, and was dedicated to St. Baldred. It was then a community of men, and it happened that some of the brothers were conveying wood for the use of the monastery on rafts, and when they drew near home and wanted to draw them to the shore a sudden and tempestuous wind came from the west and, catching the rafts, drove them to the mouth of the river. The monks who were in the monastery noticing this, launched some boats on the river to help their friends, but

¹ Raine, *St. Cuthberht*, 36 and 37, notes.

the current and the wind were too powerful for them. They then had recourse to prayer, but this did not seem to avail them for some time, which was disconcerting, as a number of spectators from among the common people had gathered together on the other side of the river. As the monks sadly watched the rafts drawn out to sea, until they looked like five little birds floating on the waves, the people began to jeer at them, deeming that those who despised the ways of other mortals, and who had introduced a new rule of life, deserved to suffer such a calamity. For this attitude Cuthberht rebuked them, saying it would be more seemly if they joined their prayers to those of the brethren; but they remained churlish, saying, "Let no one pray for them! May God have no pity on those who have robbed us of our old worship so that no one knows how to observe it now!" Thereupon Cuthberht bent his head to the ground and the wind abated, and the monks were able to turn round and to bring back the rafts again to the beach, with those who steered them, and to lay them alongside the monastery. We are told the rustics were ashamed of their conduct. Bede claims to have heard this story from a most approved monk of his monastery.

It would seem that St. Cuthberht, like St. Chad, accepted the decision of the Council of Whitby as decisive and conformed to the Roman rule, of which, according to Bede, he then became an ardent champion.

When he had spent some time at Melrose he was removed by Abbot Eata to Lindisfarne,¹ as prior, to teach the rules of monastic perfection with the authority of a superior. This shows that, as before at Ripon and Melrose, the practice of the Irish mission was contrary to the rule in Benedictine houses, for Eata presided over both monasteries. On his arrival Cuthberht immediately began his reforms, and urged the monks who clung to St. Aidan's ideals, both by his example and teaching, to adopt the Roman view, while he also worked assiduously at evangelising the common people in the neighbourhood, and became very famous for his alleged miracles—curing sickness, easing men's troubles and torments, and confounding evil spirits when present, by his touch, his prayers, his commands, or by exorcism, and, when absent, by prayer only.

His new discipline was not welcome to some of the monks, who preferred the ancient customs to the new Rule, but he won them over by tactful patience, and by daily practice brought them gradually round to his view. In the Chapter of the brethren he frequently discussed his "Rule," and when angry comments were made he would dismiss the assembly with some gentle words; and would then depart, and resume his appeal the following day as if nothing had happened,

¹ Lindisfarne is now known as Holy Island. It received the latter name, according to Archbishop Eyre, in the time of Bishop Carilef, and it first occurs in a charter of 1093 (*op. cit.* 16).

and as if he were starting afresh. He thus won them round by his perseverance. Whatever opposition or trouble he had to meet he bore it all with a cheerful countenance.¹

It would seem that sometimes he would pass three or four consecutive nights in vigil and meditation, during which he did not return to his own bed nor was there any other place out of the dormitory of the brethren where he could sleep. On these occasions he either devoted himself continuously to prayer or worked at some handicraft in the intervals of psalmody, or else he went round the island to examine each part of it. He used to reprove the brethren when they complained of being roused from their sleep at night or at noonday (*meridianae quietis tempore*)²—this phrase shows the monks had their siesta in Northumbria as in Italy.

He was of a very sensitive nature, and Bede says he could not complete the Office of the Mass without a profuse flood of tears, and when his penitents were confessing to him he would be the first to take compassion on them by weeping, and thus won over sinners to his way of life by his own example. The gift of tears was very much more available to the preacher in those emotional days. Bishop Stubbs describes it as curiously unintelligible at the present day, but he probably never attended the revival services among the Methodists and other Nonconformist bodies. Bede at all events seems to speak of it as quite usual in the pulpit.³

¹ Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, chap. 16. ² *Ib.* ³ Comp. *Opp.*, vii. 364.

Dunstan used it freely; thus we are told of him "*Sanctus quoque Spiritus . . . in oculorum rivulis elicuit.*"¹ "Of Alcuin, on the other hand, it is said that he poured out his sermon with many groans, but very seldom gave way to tears."²

Cuthberht's dress was ordinary and not remarkable either for neatness or slovenliness. It was the custom at Lindisfarne that none should wear varied or costly colours in their garments, but only use the natural colour of the wool.³

After passing several years in the monastery at Lindisfarne, probably as prior, he at length departed with the good wishes of the Abbot Eata and the brethren, and sought out what he had long craved for, namely, a life of secret solitude. It had been his practice when at Lindisfarne to withdraw at times into a certain place outside, where he was more secluded. The Irish monks used to call such a retreat "a disart." This absolute withdrawal from the duties of his position for purely personal reasons, and devoting himself meanwhile to the morbid dangers of secret introspection, was according to even such a man of sense as Bede a movement from one form of grace to another still greater (*virtute in virtutem*). When at the end he virtually deserted his see and retired to his cell, his anonymous biographer speaks of it as "a forsaking of secular honour."

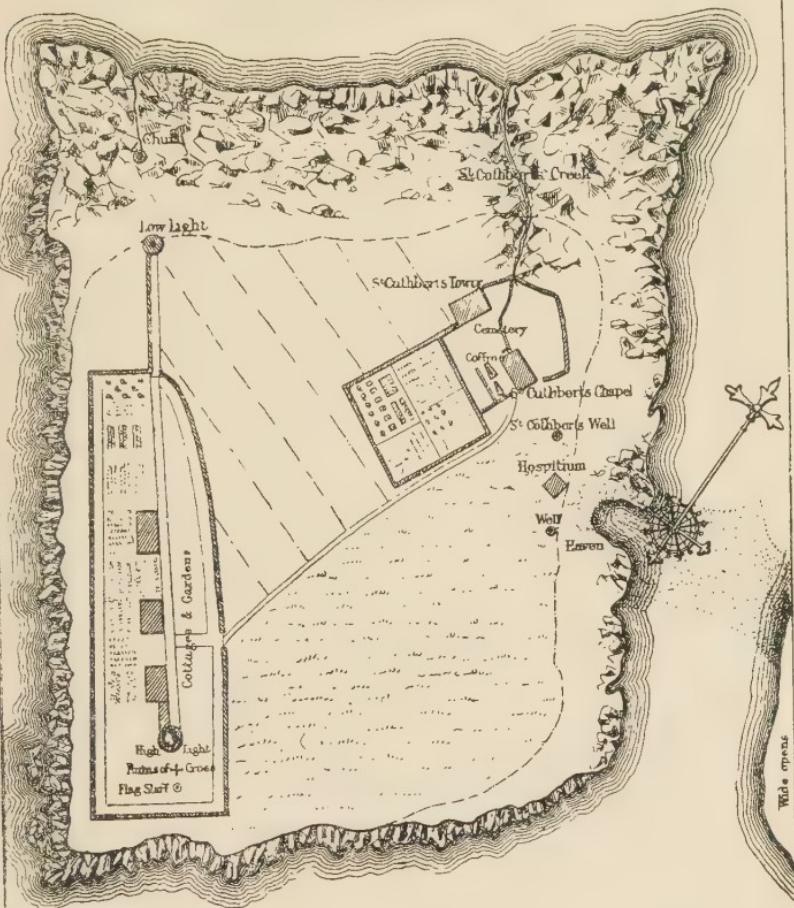
Raine says that on the southern slope of a long ridge of hills near the village of Howburn there is

¹ Stubbs' *Dunstan*, p. 50.

² *Mon. Alc.*, p. 20.

³ *Vit. Anon.*, chap. 16.

+ MAP OF FARNE ISLAND



SCALE FOUR CHAINS TO AN INCH

VIEW OF FARNE ISLAND FROM THE SEA



a cave which has been invariably called Cuthberht's Cave, or, in the words of the villagers, Cuddy's Cave, which tradition says was inhabited by him.¹

The Saint now felt that this temporary and periodical retirement was not enough, nor could he get the absolute seclusion he needed there. The place he chose for his new retreat was one of a group of small islets on the Northumbrian coast known as the Farne Islands, situated, says Bede, about a thousand paces to the east of Lindisfarne. His choice fell on the one nearest to the mainland. Previous to his going thither no man had been able to live there with any comfort. According to Bede, this was because the island was infested by demons. When he settled there, our historian claims that, armed as he was with heavenly weapons, the wicked enemy himself and all his host were dispersed.

Mr. Raine thus describes the place: "Farne Island consists of a few acres of ground partially covered with grass and hemmed around with an abrupt border of basaltic rocks, which on the side nearest the mainland rises to the height of 80 feet above the level of the sea. There is, however, a gentle slope on the side of the ocean, and on this side Cuthberht erected his habitation. The nearest point to Farne Island upon the coast is Bamborough Castle, from which it is distant about two miles and a quarter. The adjacent islands, all of which from an early period have been known by their respective names, are at low water sixteen in

¹ *Op. cit.* 20 and 21.

number, and many of them are totally devoid of vegetation.”¹

Among the wild-fowl there the most interesting are the eider ducks, so connected with the legendary history of the hermits on the island. In the time of Reginald of Durham they were called St. Cuthberht’s ducks, and he gives a picturesque description of them, showing he knew them well.

In the Durham Accounts for 1380-1, we read : “Paid to a painter from Newcastle for painting one of the birds of St. Cuthberht, as a specimen for the altar screen (*i.e.* the reredos), 12d.”²

When the Saint first arrived in the island they were in a natural state of wildness. But he so tamed them that, if we are to believe the story, he prescribed places for them to build in, and the times for their coming and departure, and whenever a storm or other trouble was threatening they fled to him for refuge, while he occasionally performed miracles on their behalf.³ In the *Anon. Life* it is said the ducks used even to allow him to stroke them and to nestle in his bosom. The gentleness of the birds and the marked softness of their down were deemed the results of his special

¹ The Farne Islands, till the Dissolution, regularly supplied the great church at Durham upon days of festivity with porpoises, seals, and wild-fowl. Thus we read, in the accounts for 1538: “For one sea-swine (*porc. marin.*) bought of the Master of Fayre on the 1st September, 10s. One sea-calf (*vitul. marin.*) bought of the Master of Fayre, against the Festival of St. Nicholas, 5s.” (Raine, *op. cit.* 22, note).

Other accounts speak of the sea-fowl “procured out of the Ffarne Iland against the Assize Week in 1628” (Raine’s *Cuthberht*, 22, note).

² Raine, *op. cit.* 119.

³ *Reg. Dun.*, 27.

influence. "It would appear," says Raine, "that the ducks have some recollection of Cuthberht and his protecting hand, for in the summer of 1818 I literally saw one of them hatching her eggs in a stone coffin overhung with nettles among the ruins of his mansion."¹

It was not only the birds which responded to St. Cuthberht's gentle ways. One of the miracles connected with him reports how once when, as was his wont, he was bathing in the sea and singing his vigils, and had been up to the neck in water, two otters (*lutrae*; seals are probably meant) came from the water, and while the Saint kneeled on a stone, licked his frozen limbs and wiped them with their hair until life and warmth returned to his numbed feet.²

The fishermen on the coast of Northumberland still hold to the legend that certain little shells of the genus *Eutrochus* which are found there, and which are known as St. Cuthberht's beads, are made by him, and that he can sometimes be seen at night seated on a rock and using one stone as a hammer and another as an anvil for his work. Scott refers to the story in "Marmion":—

"But fain Saint Hilda's nuns would learn
 If on a rock by Lindisfarne
 Saint Cuthberht sits and toils to frame
 The sea-born beads that bear his name.
 Such tales had Whitby's fishers told,
 And said they might his shape behold
 And hear his anvil sound."³

¹ Raine's *Cuthberht*, 22 and 23.

² Montalembert, iv. 386.

³ *Op. cit.* canto ii.

Bede gives us a few lines in which he describes the cell (which he elsewhere calls *tuguriunculus*) in which Cuthberht spent his hermit days, and from the site of which he was said to have driven demons who sheltered in the other Farne islands. He tells us its containing boundary, for it was apparently a *rath*, was nearly circular, about four or five perches (*quinque perticae*) from wall to wall. Outside, the wall was higher than the stature of a man, while inside, by cutting down into the living rock, it was made higher still, in order, says his didactic biographer, "that he might curb the evil passion (*lasciviam*) of his eyes as well as of his thoughts, and raise up his mind to heavenly desires, for he could see nothing from his house (*de sua mansione*) save heaven. The walls were built of neither hewn stone (*secto lapide*) nor of brick and mortar (*latere et caemento*), but of unwrought stone and of turves, the former of which he dug out of the foundations. Some of these stones were so large that it seemed hardly possible for four men to lift them. Nevertheless it was discovered that he had removed them from another place. Bede attributes this to supernatural aid. The cell was divided into two rooms by a partition : one was an oratory or chapel and the other a dwelling-place. The roof was formed of rough beams and thatched with bent-grass (*faeno*). From some other source, Montalembert reports that he suspended the hide of an ox before the entrance of his grotto, which he turned according to the direction

of the wind, and which afforded him a poor defence against the intemperance of that wild climate.¹

At the landing-place on the island there was a large house (*mansio*) with outhouses, where the monks who came to see him were received and entertained, and near it was a spring of water.²

His dwelling, from being planted on a hard rock, was in want of water. Thereupon, having summoned some of the brethren, he asked them to join with him in digging in the middle of the hut, as he was assured that He who had turned the hard rock into a spring of water would provide them with what they wanted. Apropos of this, Bede quotes the eighth verse of the 36th Psalm : “He will give us to drink of the torrent of His pleasure.” They accordingly dug, and on the morrow they found the pit was full of water. They deemed it strange that while the hole was filled the water did not run over nor wet the pavement, nor was it ever exhausted.

After his death the Saint’s cell was occupied successively by a series of other anchorites, until in the beginning of the thirteenth century it became a cell of Benedictine monks.

St. Cuthberht’s buildings still largely remained intact in the twelfth century, when they were described in the life of the anchorite Bartholomew. It mentions the small low cottage which the Saint had built of rough stone and bent-grass, situated on the north side of the island at the only place

¹ *Op. cit.* iv. 394.

² Bede, *Vit.*, chap. 18.

accessible by a boat. The well was also there, with the rough narrow pathway leading to the oratory, which was purposely planted in a secluded place among the rocks.¹

At first when Cuthberht settled at Farne he used to come out of his cell when the brethren came to visit him in order to minister to them. On these occasions he would wash their feet with warm water, while they in turn offered to take off his sandals and let them wash his. So much did he himself neglect his bodily needs in his anxious care for his soul, that when once he had put on his long hose or buskins he did not take them off for a twelvemonth. They were made of hide, and Mabillon says such hose were still in his day called *des tricouses* in France. After Easter Eve he never took them off again for a year until the return of the Pasch (the paschal feast was so called in England), when he was unshod for the ceremony of "washing the feet," which was generally practised on Maundy Thursday.

On account of his many genuflections, extensive callosities grew at the junction of his feet and legs.

He was still not satisfied with the austeries he practised. The passion for such rigid penances grew more and more dominant. "As his zeal for perfection grew," says Bede, "he shut himself up in his cell, entirely away from the sight of men, and led a solitary life of fasting, prayer, and watchings, rarely holding converse from within with

¹ See *Symeon of Durham*, i. p. 313.

those that came to him, and this only by the window. At first he was wont to open the casemate so that he could be seen by the monks, and when he chanced to speak to them they greatly rejoiced ; but presently he shut this up also, and never unclosed it except for giving the blessing or for some other avowed necessity.”¹ This being his practice we may turn to his theory. As Bede reports in another part of the same work, he used to protest to the monks who sometimes visited him that if it were possible he would like to secrete himself in ever so narrow a cell, where the cliffs of the swelling ocean should gird him round on every side and shut him out from the sight as well as from the knowledge of men ; not even then would he think himself free from the snares of this deceitful world, but there also, he would dread that covetousness might tempt him to leave his retreat or suggest some other cause to lure him away.²

In regard to his mode of living we read that at first he used to accept a little bread from his monks for food, while he drank from the spring in his cell ; but afterwards he thought it better to live by the toil of his own hands. He therefore asked them to bring him some implements of husbandry and some seed corn (perhaps oats), but when the midsummer came he found that no corn had grown up. Thinking it might be that the ground was too sterile, or that his wish was opposed by the Almighty, he asked for barley instead of corn, and

¹ Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, chap. 18.

² *Op. cit.* chap. 8.

determined that if this did not grow either, it would be better for him to return to the monastery rather than to live by the work of other people's hands.¹ They then brought him some barley long after the season for planting that grain, and there was little hope of its growing ; but it promptly sprang up. When it grew the birds came in flocks to eat it. Bede naively goes on to say (as if he fully believed the story) that Cuthberht reproved the birds for having taken barley which they had not sown, and bade them depart unless they had obtained God's consent. The birds at once flew away and did not attack the harvest again. Bede compares this with St. Anthony's feat of restraining the wild asses from injuring the little garden he had planted.

He tells another story of two crows which had settled on the island and which began to pull the thatch out of the roof of his cell to build their nests with. On his reproofing them without effect, he bade them in Christ's name depart, which they did. Three days later one of them returned, approached Cuthberht, spread out its wings, bowed its head, and uttered humble notes as if soliciting forgiveness. Thereupon the Saint, who understood their language, gave them leave to return to the island. The crow then went to fetch its companion, and they came back together, bringing him half a flitch of bacon. The Saint used to give some of the fat from this flitch, which was forbidden food to him, to the brethren to grease their sandals with.

¹ Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, 19.

The birds presently built their nests on the island, but never again did they do any harm to any one.¹

In these and similar stories we see the English counterpart of St. Francis, whose gentle goodness was effective in taming the wild ways of men and animals, and to whom the swallows of Alviano, the water-bird of Rieti, the pheasant of Sienna, the wolf of Gubbio, and the falcon of Laverna paid homage.²

It was not only living things which are said to have ministered to his needs. He had selected a spot by the seaside where the waves had hollowed out a deep and narrow cleft about 12 feet wide (this is still distinctly visible on the island), across which a bridge had to be laid. He therefore asked his brother monks, next time they went to see him, to take a log of wood 12 feet long. They promised to do so, but entirely forgot it, and expressed their regret for having overlooked his order; but he comforted them and bade them stay in the island till the next day, when it was noticed that the tide had in the night drifted in a log of wood of the proper size and laid it on shore just where it was needed.³

Attracted by his fame, many people now

¹ Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, 20.

² Archbishop Eyre enumerates other saints who tamed wild animals, e.g. a wild boar which licked the wounds of St. Andronicus; a lioness crouched at the feet of St. Tarachus; a raven defended the unburied body of St. Vincent; St. Martin commanded the serpents and they obeyed him; St. Anthony of Padua summoned the fishes to come to his preaching when the heretics despised it (Eyre, *Hist. of St. Cuthberht*, 21).

³ Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, 21.

repaired to the island, not only from Lindisfarne but from the remoter parts of Britain, to confess their sins or to report to him the various temptations which the devils had put before them, and he used duly to strengthen and console them by tales of the impotence of the evil ones. He confessed how they had often thrust him headlong from the lofty rocks or thrown stones at him, as if to slay him. They had also raised up fantastic temptations to tempt him to flee from the place, but had nevertheless never been able to injure his body or to put fear into his mind. Plummer urges that all this shows that his mind had, in fact, become unhinged by his austerities, and he compares him with some of the wild Covenanters in *Old Mortality*, who also fancied they had visible conflicts with the powers of evil.¹

He used to remind the brethren that the exaltation of his conversation was largely due to the fact that, as a hermit, he habitually despised the cares of the world and dwelt secretly with himself; "yet," he added, "the life of monks is more wonderful, since they follow in everything another's commands and arrange their vigils, prayers, fastings, and manual labour by the orders of their abbot." He had known, he said, many of them who had excelled him in purity of mind and in prophetic grace. As an example he quoted his own master, Boisil, already named, who had foretold all that would happen to himself. Only one of his prophecies, he said, remained to be fulfilled, which he

¹ *Op. cit. Intr.*, xxx.

sincerely hoped would never come about.¹ In this Boisil had foretold that he was to become a Bishop.

Thus did Cuthberht pass his days until the year 684, when for some unknown reason Bishop Trumberht was deposed from his see. In the life of Eata it is said it was *pro culpa cuiusdam inobedientiae*. Perhaps he still clung to St. Aidan's ways too much! Thereupon, at a synod held in that year at Twyford, on the Aln, Cuthberht was chosen to fill the see of Hexham. Both King Ecgfrid of Northumbria and Archbishop Theodore were present. The post was offered to the recluse in vain until the King and Bishop Trumwine went in person to his island, and after earnest entreaties brought him back to fill a place for which, by his theories and ideals, he was singularly ill fitted. He was consecrated at York as Bishop of Hexham on the 26th of March 685, by Archbishop Theodore. The vacant see was a specially unsuitable sphere for such an inveterate hermit as Cuthberht, and his old master Eata consented to exchange his own diocese of Lindisfarne, which he knew and where he was well known, and which was much better suited for him, for that of Hexham.

There is a considerable probability that the monument of the deposed Bishop Trumberht still survives. It has been described by Bishop Browne. The stone was discovered at Yarm a few years ago, and was then used as a weight for a mangle. It is now preserved at Durham. It bears an inscription

¹ Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, chap. 22.

in several lines, six of which are clear enough, and are written in English minuscules. The first line is entirely obliterated. The Bishop suggests that very probably it contained either the word "Orate" or perhaps, more probably, the English equivalent "Gebid fore."

Two letters can still be traced in the second line of the inscription, which, says Bishop Browne, are almost certainly *p* and *r*. These he expands into "pro Tru."

The rest of the inscription reads quite plainly—

" mberehc
 t ✕ sac ✕
 alla ✕ sign
 um Aefter
 his breodera
 ysetae "

The whole would then read in English :—

"Pray for Trumbercht the 'sacerdos.' Alla (erected) this monument for his brother."

Sacerdos at this time in nearly all cases meant Bishop, and, as Dr. Browne says, no bishop at this time, except our Trumberht, bears a name consistent with these letters, while the language of the inscription is also of the date.¹

Cuthberht was only a bishop for about two years, and we have hardly any information about his evangelical work, except at Carlisle, where he probably felt he had a congenial sphere since the country was only recently occupied and settled by the

¹ Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrid*, 161 and 162.



SHAFT OF THE CROSS OF BISHOP TRUMBERHT.

[Vol. III., facing p. 3]

Anglians, while the King had given him a rich estate there. Bede says he went thither especially to ordain some of his priests and to veil the Queen. He was there, in fact, when Ecgfrid went on his unfortunate expedition against the Picts, and there he gave the veil to his widowed Queen in a monastery founded by her sister.¹ His sphere of labours, however, extended beyond the diocese of Carlisle, and invites us to make a journey with him.

It would seem that his missionary labours and his direct influence extended over the whole northern part of Ecgfrid's dominions. It certainly included the Lothians, and almost certainly extended to the Firth of Forth, which was then the northern frontier of Northumbria on the eastern side of England, and divided it from the land of the Picts.

Ecgfrid's direct dominations also stretched farther north on the western side of the English Apennines than some have thought. On this point I differ from some other writers. In his *Life of St. Wilfrid*, Æddi says: “*sicut . . . Ecgfritho . . . regnum ad Aquilonem . . . per triumphos augebatur, ita beatae memoriae Wilfritho episcopo . . . ad Aquilonem super Brittones et Scottos Pictosque, regnum ecclesiarum multiplicabatur.*”² This is an exaggeration, but it seems to me clearly to imply that Wilfrid was the ecclesiastical head of all those portions of Ecgfrid's kingdom which were directly subject to the King, and were not merely vassal states. There can be no doubt that in

¹ *Vide ante*, ii. 107 and 108. ² Raine, *Historians of York*, i. 21.

addition to the district of Carlisle, where Cuthberht spent a considerable time shortly before he died,¹ it included, therefore, the northern as well as the southern maritime border of the Solway Firth. The British kingdom of Strathclyde, with its capital at Dumbarton, was then limited to the strath or watershed of the Clyde and did not include the country south and south-west of it, which was then largely settled by Anglians.

It is only thus that we can understand how the diocese of Whitherne, the see of which had been in abeyance for a long time, was revived at this time, and why it had a succession of bishops all bearing Anglian names, and not one of whom probably could speak the British or the Irish tongue. These were Pecthelm, Frithuwald, and Pectwine.

It will be useful to recall one or two stories connected with Cuthberht's doings in the land beyond the Solway Firth. Bede tells us how on one occasion he, "in pursuit of some matters which required his presence," embarked on a vessel for the land of the Picts who were called "Niduarii."² The *Anonymous Life* says they came to a place called

¹ *Vide ante*, ii. 108-109.

² It is pretty plain that this voyage to the land of the Niduarii must have been made along the Solway Firth, which was then much frequented by travellers going to and fro from Ireland. The Niduarii were in fact so named from the River Nith (Nid), which flows into the Solway Firth. In the fabulous Irish life of the Saint he is said to have landed in Galloway (Galweia), whither he sailed in a stone-boat from Ireland on his first visit to England, and that he landed in the region called Rennii, in the port of Rintsnoc (*ib. chap. xix.*). This Skene identifies with Portpatrick in the Rinns of Galloway (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. 203).

Mudpieraleges (Stevenson makes this a corruption of Niduarii). He was accompanied by two of the brethren, one of whom afterwards became a priest and was responsible for the miraculous story which Bede tells. The travellers had arrived at their bourne on the day after Christmas Day, the weather was very fine, and the aspect of the waves was smiling. They had not, therefore, taken provisions for a stay, but immediately on their arrival a tempest came on and prevented them from starting on their return for several days, during which they suffered much from cold and hunger, and the ground was covered with snow. Meanwhile Cuthberht spent most of his time in prayer, and presently he took his companions to the foot of a cliff close by, where they found three pieces of a dolphin (*tria frusta delphininae carnis*; probably a porpoise is meant), as if cut by human aid and ready for cooking. As he had foretold, the tempest, after lasting for three days, abated, and on the fourth day they returned happily to their own country.¹

A saga reports how he came to leave the Picts' land. It is contained in the Irish life of the Saint, which, although an apocryphal story, was widely credited in the Middle Ages. It says that while he was living as a hermit there the daughter of a Pictish king accused him of having violated her, whereupon at the prayer of the Saint the earth opened and swallowed her up. This was at a place called Corven, "whence it was," says the legend,

¹ *Vit. Anon.*, 15; Bede, *Vit.*, xi.

"that no woman was permitted to enter a church dedicated to his honour." The story is doubtless a fable, but the prohibition it was probably invented to explain is certain.

It is not only Cuthberht's tie with the land of the Niduarii that attests his influence beyond the Solway Firth, but also the fact of several churches in Scotland having been dedicated to him.¹ Of these, the name and associations of Kirkcudbright in Dumfriesshire are the most interesting. Of the etymology of this place-name there can be no doubt whatever. Reginald of Durham calls it "Cuthbrictiskhirche," and tells a story about it in which he says : "*Villula ipsa Cuthbrictis khirche dicitur ; quae a Beati Cuthberhti memoria, quae in eadem habetur ecclesia, nomen sortiri videtur.*" He says it was situated in the land of the Picts, and adds of it prettily, "*de fluvio ejus suburbania decurrente blanda dulcedine perornata est.*"² In 1164 he says Ælred of Rievaulx happened to be there on St. Cuthberht's feast-day, when he saw a man undergoing punishment who was wearing round his naked body a ring of iron made out of the sword or other weapon with

¹ I will take the list from Bishop Forbes' *Kalendars of British Saints* : Ballantrae, Hailes, Glencairn, Denesmor, Kirkcudbright, Glenholm, Ednam, Drummelzier, Maxton, Edinburgh, Wick (a chapel), Prestwick, Hauster, Eccles, Drysdale, Girvan, Ewes in Eskdale, Straiton in Carrick, Mauchline, Maybole, Invertig, and Weem near Dunkeld. Fairs in his honour are still held on his day at Langton in Merse, Poole, Grange, and Linlithgow (*op. cit.* 318-19). In the *Originales Parochiales* it is said that affectionate memorials are still found at Melrose, Channel Kirk, and Maxton (*op. cit.* i. Preface, xxiii).

² *Op. cit.* chap. 85.

which he had committed a crime. This had created an ulcerous sore. The man having heard of the virtues of the Saint, had gone to pray for relief, when we are gravely told the iron ring burst asunder.¹

On the same day our author tells us that a most furious bull was offered as an oblation in the church. He adds that the clerks who dwelt in the latter—by whom he doubtless means scholars (who, he says, in the Pictish language were called “*Scollofthes*”—began to bait the bull in the churchyard (*in cymeterio Beati Cuthberhti*). The church, he says, was made of stone (*petrosa et de lapidibus compacta ecclesiola*).² The bull broke loose and killed the youth (*predictum scholasticum*) who had incited the rest to torment it.³

This story, with its reference to the Pictish tongue still surviving in Dumfriesshire, shows that that county also belonged to the country of the Niduarii, and that the diocese of Whitherne comprised the whole district north of the Solway, doubtless also including part of Ayrshire. It will be remembered that till the fourteenth century Whitherne continued to be under the archdiocese of York, and was treated as a Northumbrian diocese by Bede.

St. Cuthberht had other ties with the south of Scotland, where in fact he was born.

We may further remember as an additional argument in favour of the Northumbrian domination, both lay and ecclesiastical, in this district, the presence of the splendid seventh-century cross at Rushworth, in Dumfriesshire.⁴

¹ *Op. cit.* chap. 85.

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.*

⁴ See Appendix IV.

This will be a convenient place to intervene with a notice of what we know of the earlier history of the restoration of the see at Whitherne.

When the bishopric was renewed, Plummer argues that its seat was planted in the monastery at Whitherne, which was hallowed by the memory of St. Ninian. He adds that in the lives of Irish saints it was called Rosnat and *Magnum Monasterium*, and was represented as a great centre of monastic discipline and learning where several of them had their training.¹

The date of the revival is not exactly known, but it may be approximately fixed. Bede, writing in 731, says that Pehthelm was then bishop in the church called *Candida Casa* (*i.e.* the White House), which from the increasing number of believers had lately become an additional episcopal see and had him for its first prelate.² This agrees with Richard of Hexham, who, in speaking of Bishop Acca (724–735), says: “*Sunt tamen qui dicunt quod eo tempore episcopalem eodem in Candida Casa incepit et praeparaverit.*”³ It is not only Cuthberht’s connection with the land of the Niduarii that attests his influence beyond the Solway Firth, but also the names and associations of the later Bishops of Whitherne.

The name of Pecthelm or Pehthelm, as Mr. Plummer says, means “helm of the Picts.” Can it have been given him when he became Bishop? He

¹ Plummer’s *Bede*, ii. 129.

² *H.E.*, v. 23.

³ *Church of Hexham*, Surtees Society, p. 35.

was perhaps a native of South Britain, however, or at least he was educated in the south, for he had been a deacon and monk for a long time under St. Aldhelm, and had reported how many miracles were performed at the grave of the Wessex bishop Haedde.¹ He was one of St. Boniface's many correspondents. Bede tells us that one of the stories he himself relates about the vision of a Mercian knight was told to him by "the venerable Bishop Pechelm."²

Boniface in a letter asks him for his prayers in behalf of his own very onerous mission, and sends him some small presents as a proof of his affection for him ("parva munuscula, id est, corporale, pallium, albis stigmatibus variatum et villosam ad tergendos pedes servorum Dei"). He also asks him for his opinion on a technical dogmatic point. Throughout "Francia," he says, and the Gauls ("per totam Franciam et per Gallias") the bishops held it to be a very great crime for a man to marry a widow to whose son by a former husband he had been godfather in Baptism. This, he says, he cannot find forbidden in the Canons, nor does he know in what category of sins it can be placed. He ends the letter with the pleasing phrase, "Sospitatem vestram sanctis virtutibus proficere, et longo tempore valere te cupio in Christo."³ The letter is dated in 735 by Dümmler. That is the year in which Florence of Worcester puts Pehthelm's death.

¹ Bede, *H.E.*, v. 18.

² *Ib.* v. 13.

³ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Epist. iii. 282-3.

He was succeeded by Frithuwald in 735 (see Cont. of Bede, ed. Plummer, i. 361,¹ and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MSS. D, E, and F,² which say he was consecrated at York on the 15th of August, in the sixth year of King Ceolwulf, and died on the 7th of May 763, having been bishop twenty-nine years).³ He, again, was succeeded by Pehtwine, meaning "Friend of the Picts," who was consecrated Bishop of Whitherne on the 17th of July 763 at Ælfset ee. He died on the 19th of September 776, after being bishop fourteen years.⁴ I know nothing more of him.

Let us now return to Cuthberht. We followed his story to the time when he was spending part of his latter days at Carlisle.

It was while he was there that he said good-bye to his old friend Hereberht, or Herbert, who used to pay him a yearly visit, and whose name still attaches to St. Herbert's Island on Derwentwater.⁵ There he passed his life as a hermit, and there still remains a ruined chapel associated with his name.

¹ *M.H.B.*, 288.

² *Ib.* 542.

³ His name suggests some connection with Frithogith, the Queen of Wessex, and Frithuberht, Bishop of Hexham, who were contemporaries of his.

⁴ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MSS. D, E, and F.

⁵ There are four islands on Derwentwater. St. Herbert's Island is almost in the centre of the lake, and is about 5 acres in size. The cell is at the north end, which is almost covered with wood. Hutchinson two centuries ago said it seemed to consist of two rooms, the outer one probably the chapel, 22 feet by 16, the smaller one being the cell. The latter is now lost; the walls of the former still remain, at a height of about 3 feet above ground, built of unwrought slate-stones and mortar. Heaps of stones from the building lie around, and are now covered with ivy, moss, and brambles, and clasped by the roots of trees. The metrical life of St. Cuthberht says Herbert retired to this spot by the advice of his friend Cuthberht (Eyre, *op. cit.* 58 and 59).

He foretold his own approaching death to his friend, and promised to pray that as they had served God together here, so they might go to heaven together to see His light. They were, in fact, reported to have died on the same day, and seven centuries later, in 1374, Thomas de Appleby, the Bishop of Carlisle, appointed that a Mass should be said by the Vicar of Crosthwaite parish, in which Herbert lived, on the anniversary of the two saints in the island where Hereberht had died, and he granted an indulgence of forty days to all who crossed the water to pray in honour of the two friends.¹

Wordsworth writes of them in some very prosaic lines :

“ . . . But he (Cuthberht) had left
A fellow-labourer, whom the good man loved
As his own soul; and when, with eye upraised
To heaven, he knelt before the crucifix,
While o'er the lake the cataract of Lodore
Pealed to his orisons, and when he paced
Along the beach of this small isle, and thought
Of his companion, he would pray that both,
Now that their earthly duties were fulfilled,
Might die in the same moment. Nor in vain
So prayed he, as our chroniclers report,
Though here the hermit numbered his last day,
Far from St. Cuthberht, his beloved friend,
These holy men both died in the same hour.”

Cuthberht had long been delicate, the result, no doubt, of his austerities, and in the year 686 he resigned his episcopal charge and returned to his

¹ Bede, Smith's edition, Appendix, No. 23, p. 783, where the text of the indulgence is given.

lonely dwelling at Farne.¹ We are told how the Lindisfarne monks crowded about his boat when he left them and asked him eagerly when he would return. "When you shall convey my dead body again here," said Cuthberht. His last days were described by Herefrid, Abbot of Lindisfarne, to Bede. He tells us that on the 27th of February, the very day of Cuthberht's attack, he had visited the island to receive the Saint's salutation, and gave him the usual sign on his arrival. "He came to the window and answered my salutation with a groan." Herefrid then asked if he was suffering from his old disease, dysentery, or from some new complaint, and craved a blessing from him "for myself and my monks," and proposed to quit the island, as the tide was favourable.

Cuthberht bade him return home, and when God should take his soul to Himself he told him to bury him in front of his oratory on the island under the eastern side of the cross which he had there erected. "You will find," he added, "on the north side of my dwelling a stone coffin, hid in the ground, the gift of the venerable Abbot Cudda. I also wish my body to be wrapped in a linen cloth which was given to me by Verca, the Abbess" (*i.e.* the Abbess of Tiningham), "which I was unwilling to wear in my lifetime, and have kept for

¹ As Bede says, when he had had passed two years in his episcopal office, knowing in spirit that his last day was at hand, he divested himself of his episcopal duties and returned to his much-loved solitude (*Vit. Cuthb.*, ch. 36).

my winding-sheet." Herefrid now returned to Lindisfarne and retailed the story to a full convent of the brethren, and told them to pray incessantly for their dying bishop.

A storm which followed lasted five days, and prevented access to the island. When it had abated the monks put out to sea. On their arrival they found their bishop not in his oratory, but in the guest-hall at the landing-place on the beach. Herefrid remained to nurse him, while the rest went on to Bamborough on some necessary business. He first washed one of the Saint's feet, which had long troubled him. It was perhaps some disorder consequent on the plague from which he had suffered when a monk. He then gave him some warm wine. After this Cuthberht sat down quietly on his couch, with the abbot beside him. He told his friend he had lately taken up his residence on the beach so that he should be more easily accessible to those who might visit him from Lindisfarne, and said he had been there five days and nights without moving. Archbishop Eyre suggests that he had moved in order that the monks might not have an excuse for entering his cell, to which he seems to have had a great objection. When Herefrid asked what he had done for food, he produced five onions from under his coverlet, with which he had moistened his parched lips, and said he had eaten nothing else. Herefrid remarked that only half of one had been eaten, and also persuaded his master to allow some of the monks to come and

look after him, to which the latter now consented. He selected two, one called Bede (not the historian) and another Walhstod.

Herefrid on his return to Lindisfarne told the brethren of the Saint's determination to be buried at Farne, which troubled them much. They had a special conference, and set out to entreat him to let his remains be placed in the cathedral, but he urged that it would be better he should remain at Farne, for, since he was notoriously "a servant of Christ," culprits of all kinds would flock to his tomb (*i.e.* for sanctuary), and give much trouble to the Church by compelling it to intercede with the potentates of the world. They replied that if he would grant their wish they were prepared to undergo any trouble. They were anxious to have his tomb in the cathedral, so that they could visit it when they wished, and could exclude strangers if they thought good. He thereupon consented, and they received his message on their knees.

Feeling that his life was ebbing, he asked the brethren to convey him to the oratory. It was nine in the morning. The door was open, but they knew that for many years no one had entered it but the Saint himself, and they now begged that one of them might do so, and thus attend to his wants. He selected Walhstod, who was then labouring from a dysentery. According to Bede, no sooner did Cuthberht lean on his arm than his complaint left him.

Abbot Herefrid used to sit beside him to obtain from him some parting message for the brethren

at Lindisfarne before he died. He reported that he spoke but little, and insisted on their cherishing peace, humility, unanimity in counsel, and hospitality, and showed a special abhorrence of those who departed from Catholic unity, who did not observe Easter at the proper time, or who led wicked lives.

Mr. James Raine says he also gave the memorable command with reference to his body, to which Durham and its splendid endowments exclusively owe their origin.

"Know and remember," said he to Herefrid, "that if necessity shall ever compel you out of two misfortunes to choose one, I had much rather that you should dig up my bones from their grave and take them with you in such sojourn as God shall provide, than that you should on any account consent to the iniquity of schismatics or put your necks under their yoke."¹ This and other similar phrases were probably Bede's own glosses.

That this injunction contemplated the subsequent journeys of Cuthberht's remains after the destruction of Lindisfarne, as some have supposed, seems to me preposterous. It probably rather had in view some possible heterodoxy being introduced at Lindisfarne.

The end was now at hand, and we are told that when nocturns had come round Cuthberht received from Herefrid the communion of the Lord's body

¹ The sentence, like others of a similar kind, points to Cuthberht's having had no doubt about his own superior sanctity and of the special preciousness of his own remains (Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, 28-32).

and blood to strengthen him for his departure, and with eyes and hands lifted up heavenwards he commended his soul to the Lord in a sitting position, and passed away without a groan "into the life of the fathers" in the first hours of Wednesday, March 20, 687.¹ He was probably only about fifty-six, for he was just grown up when he came to Melrose in 651.

"It is certain," says Dr. Bright, "that he received the communion in both kinds, and clearly not during Mass.

*"... Residens antistes ad altar
Pocula degustat vitae, Christique supinum
Sanguine munit iter."*

"So also Guthlac, *munivit se communione corporis et sanguinis Christi*—both kinds being kept ready on the altar."² In the case of hermits this reservation must have involved some difficulties.

Herefrid now communicated the news of the death to the other brethren who were on the island, whereupon one of them went with a torch in each hand to an eminence and thus conveyed

¹ Bede, *H.E.*, iv. 29, and *Vit. Cuth.*, 39; *Vit. Anon.*, 42.

² Bright, *op. cit.* 387 and note 4; Bede, *Vit.*, 39, and *de Mirac. S. Cuth.*, ch. 36. Dr. Lingard says that at the celebration of Mass the communion was distributed *under both kinds*; it was so also with the viaticum when the Mass was celebrated in the presence of the sick. When this was not convenient or possible, the rubric ordered that "the Housel" consecrated at the Mass should be kept for the purpose. "We enjoin," says the Canon, "that the priest have housel always ready for those who need it, and that he carefully preserve it in purity." In monasteries it was generally preserved in the chapel of the infirmary, whence, as Bede says, it was brought for each man (Lingard, i. 46, note).

the sad news to the community at Lindisfarne. His signal was seen by one of them who was in the watchtower there, and was by him communicated to the rest of the brethren in the church, who were praying.

As soon as the Saint was dead the brethren washed his body from head to foot and wrapped it in a cere-cloth, no doubt that supplied by the Abbess Verca, and enveloped his head in a fair cloth or napkin. They then clothed him in the vestments of a priest (*i.e.* a cassock, amice, alb, girdle, stole, maniple, and chasuble). The sacramental elements were put upon his breast,¹ and sandals were placed upon his feet. He was then conveyed over the water to Lindisfarne and buried with all due honour in a stone coffin (doubtless that which had been provided by Abbot Cudda, *vide supra*), and on the right side of the altar.²

Unlike most anchorites, who naturally become testy and self-willed, Cuthberht was a gentle creature. He tolerated counsel from his brother monks, who could not always accept the excessive austerities he chose as his own portion, and who begged for occasional (very occasional) relaxations at the Church festivals. Thus we find them urging upon him one day that while fasts, prayers, and vigils occupied most of their lives, they might at least rejoice on Christmas day—“*et illi inquiunt*

¹ This is the way both Lingard and J. Raine understand the words in the *Anonymous Life*: “*Oblatis super sanctum pectus positis.*”

² Bede, *Vit. St. Cuth.*, ch. 40.

. . . *hodie gaudemus in Domino . . . cum epulantibus nobis et diem laetum ducentibus.*"¹

He seems to have accepted the rebuke and to have conceded its reasonableness, while reminding them again and again of the need for continual watchfulness and prayer.

Bede, as usual, illustrates this phase of the Saint's character by a story. He tells us how on one occasion, several persons having gone to the island to visit him, he spoke comforting words to them, adding that it was now time for him to return to his cell, and he bade them before returning home to take some refreshment, and pointed out a goose (probably a solan goose) which was hanging on the wall—"pendebat enim auca in pariete." This he bade them cook and eat in the name of the Lord. He then prayed with them and blessed them. The visitors, as they had brought other food with them, did not care to take the goose, for which act of disobedience they were punished by the arrival of a storm, which lasted seven days, during which they were shut up in the island. They visited the Saint (who did not know they had not followed his advice) more than once to ask his help. He bade them be patient. On the seventh day he, for the first time, saw that the goose was still hanging up. He then duly reproved them for their disobedience, and told them forthwith to put it in a cauldron and cook and eat it, when the sea would again become quiet,

¹ Bede, *Vit. St. Cuth.*, ch. 27.

and they might return home. "It happened," says Bede, "that directly the goose began to boil in the cauldron the waters of the sea also ceased their boiling, whereupon they returned home with joy, and yet with shame, and were confirmed in their opinion that their master specially cherished his faithful servants, and punished those who lightly esteemed him."

"I did not," says Bede, "learn the miracle from any vague authority, but from the statement of one who was present, namely, Cynemund, a monk of venerable life and a priest, and belonging to the brotherhood at Lindisfarne."¹

It is quite necessary, if we are to judge of the mental simplicity and the quite naïve and really childish attitude of the early mediaeval saints towards the problems of this life and the next, that we should steep ourselves in these trivialities. They measure the utter collapse of the human mind at this time in view of all issues save the pragmatic cares of life. We must always remember that this habit of mind, when accompanied by the effects of excessive self-torture, was much more impressive to the men of social position no less than to the simple crowd than the masculine virtues of the great ecclesiastics of the mediæval Church.² The effect of such austerities and of the

¹ Bede, *Vit. St. Cuth.*, ch. 36.

² The extent of the asceticism practised by the more extravagant of these lonely saints is almost incredible. "A still further advance in rigour," says Plummer (i. xxxi), "was marked by the *inclusus* who was walled up alive in his cell. One saint at St. Gallen, styled Eusebius

morbid lives and the hysterical visions of these lonely recluses, which were nothing more than the counterparts of others in such widely separated religions as Muhammadanism, Buddhism, and Hinduism, may be gathered from the almost divine worship which was conceded to the anchorites, as well as from the quite extravagant gifts and legacies which they secured for the Church.

This cult in later times and at certain shrines had displaced the invocation of the Saviour as the great Mediator, as may be gathered from the following prayer addressed to St. Cuthberht and preserved at Durham :—

“Oratio ad Sanctum Cuthbertum.

“Sancte Pater Patriae, Cuthberte vir inclyte salve.
 Salve, dans miseris saepe salutis opem.
 Salve dulce decus, salve spes magna tuorum.
 Virtus nostra vale! Vir pietatis age!
 Sit tibi laus. Tibi dignus honor, tibi gratia detur,
 Qui, licet indigno, das bona saepe mihi.
 Tu mihi magna salus, mihi gloria saepe fuisti,
 Tu me dulcifluo semper amore foves.
 Oh quot saepe malis, quibus hostibus atque periclis
 Me, Pater, ereptum prosperitate foves
 Et tibi quid dignum reddam, Pater, O Pie Presul!
 O Pater! O clemens Pastor! adesto mihi
 Ut placet et nosti, Pater, auxiliare petenti,
 Quaeso memento mei, dulcis Amice Dei.”¹

Scotigena (*i.e.* the Irishman), is reported to have lived for thirty years when thus walled up” (see Pertz, ii. 93, 188). Of another, an Irishman called Paternus, it was said by Marianus Scotus, “*in sua clausola combustus per ignem pertransivit, in refrigerium*” (Pertz, v. 558).

¹ Raine, *Cuthberht*, 96.

It was not only in such prayers that the Saviour in later times was forgotten at Cuthberht's shrine. Thus in one form of indulgence issued by the Bishop of Ely on 9th July 1235, to those who collected money for the fabric of the nine altars at Durham, repairs of the church there, etc., we find the following typical sentence: "We for our part, fully confiding in the mercy of God and in the merits of the glorious Virgin, of St. Cuthberht, and of all the saints, release thirty days of enjoined penance to all those who shall bestow towards the fabric aforesaid the pious bounty of their alms, or shall, during the seven years next continuing, visit the place aforesaid for the purpose of prayer."¹ The Saviour is not mentioned in the document at all.

One reason for the extravagant reputation of St. Cuthberht was doubtless the story of the alleged incorruptibility of his flesh after death, which lent itself to a quaint Latin alliteration in the words, "*Cujus caro carne carens,*" and which, no doubt, greatly awed the devotees in days when the most childish credulity prevailed.

Eleven years after Cuthberht's burial, the monks at Lindisfarne, deeming that nothing would then remain of him save his bones, proposed to take them up and to put them into a fitting coffin above ground, where they could be duly honoured. This wish was conceded by the bishop, and, according to Hegge's quaint words in his legend of St. Cuthberht: "Whiles they opened his coffin

¹ Raine, *Cuthberht*, 100.

they started at a wonder. They lookt for bones and found flesh ; they expected a skeleton and saw an entire bodie with joynts flexible. His flesh so succulent that there only needed heat to make his bodie live without a soul, and his face so dissembling death that, while elsewhere it is true that sleep is the image of death, here death was the image of sleep. Nay, his very funerall weeds were as fresh as if putrefaction had not dared to take him by the coat."¹ The dismayed monks reported what they had seen to Eadberht, the Bishop of Lindisfarne, who was spending Lent in an adjacent island. They took with them the outer robes in which Cuthberht had been buried, and which they found in the same state of incorruption as the body itself. They did not disturb the other vestments, but wrapped the remains in a new garment, and then placed it above ground in a coffin which they had prepared. The bishop just referred to, who died soon after, was buried in the grave from which the body of St. Cuthberht had been taken.

The statement about the remains of the Saint having been found uncorrupted is repeated on later occasions when the coffin was again opened. It was a common story told of saints. Its truth in this case is sharply criticised by Mr. James Raine, who makes an unanswerable case against the authority of the legend. He quotes some very damaging facts on the other side. It is, at all events, clear that the later monks always took care to have

¹ Hegge's legend of St. Cuthberht, see Raine, *Cuthberht*, 67, note.

the face, which was the exposed part of the body, carefully covered with a face-cloth. Of this, Reginald, who described the opening of the coffin in 1104, says, very frankly : "The cheeks, face, and head were closely covered with a cloth, which was attached to all the parts beneath it with such anxious care that it was as it were glued to his hair, skin, temples, and beard. Through this his nostrils and eyelids were sufficiently visible, but not the skin below." This is confirmed by William of Malmesbury, who says, "*Facies tam stricte obvoluta sudario ut nullo Abbatis nisu dissotiarri posset.*"¹

This is surely very suspicious, and becomes conclusive when we confront it with another fact mentioned by Raine. He gives an engraving of the Saint's skull when the remains were exposed at the opening of the coffin in 1826, and says that pieces of the very cloth which Reginald had described as glued to the face were still found fastened to it with no trace of flesh intervening. Not only so, but he says the eye-holes of the skull, in order to give the face-cloth the projecting appearance of eyes in their respective places, had been originally, and still continued, stuffed full with a whitish composition, which still admirably retained its colour and consistency, and which upon being removed from its place was easily pressed into a powder by the finger and thumb.²

¹ *G.P.*, ed. Hamilton, p. 275.

² Raine, 214.

All this goes to show that the story was based on quite sophisticated evidence. William of Malmesbury names five saints, of all of whom it was said that their bodies remained uncorrupted, namely, Æthelburga, Wiburga, Edmund of East Anglia, Alphege, and Cuthberht.

Cuthberht's case was, however, the critical one, and we find St. Dunstan at a later time enforcing the truth of incorruption in the case of St. Edmund by quoting it to the Abbot of Fleury. Thus he says : “*Quia sanctus . . . Cuthbertus . . . non solum adhuc exspectat diem primae resurrectionis incorrupto corpore, sed etiam perfusus quodam blando tempore.*”¹ Reginald says that the body when exposed showed the Saint to have been of a tall and manly stature.

The cult of Cuthberht was very widespread, especially within the radius of the influence of the great northern minster on the Tees. Miss Arnold-Forster, in her interesting and learned book on the dedications of English churches, remarking on the Saint's wide popularity, says that about ninety churches still bear his name. These she enumerates.² Seventy of them are ancient and the rest belong to the last century. Of these, she thinks Crayke and Carlisle are probably the oldest. Several of those mentioned in Bishop Wessington's old list have had their dedications altered, notably that of Middleton, near Manchester—“the most

¹ Stubbs, *Dunstan*, p. 379 ; Plummer, ii. 271.

² *Op. cit.* iii. p. 350.

southern point in the Saint's wanderings, which is now known as St. Leonard's, the French hermit having dispossessed the English one."¹ Among the daughter churches of Durham which were dedicated to the Saint, that of Darlington, built in the twelfth century, is remarkable. Outside of the Durham diocese he also shared in the dedication of the two great abbey churches of Bolton and Worksop.

While for several centuries his name became almost obsolete as a dedicating one—the church of Milbourne, in Westmorland, in 1355, being the last in the known list of such foundations—it has revived during the last half-century. One such exists in Durham. Of these modern dedications, twenty are named by Miss Arnold-Forster.

It is noticeable, however, that the Saint's fame was largely confined to the north of England, and especially that part of it where the influence of Durham extended. Shropshire is the only county in the southern province with two dedications to him, while there is one in each of the sporadically distributed counties of Somerset, Suffolk, Derbyshire, Dorsetshire, and Hereford.²

Another excellent proof of the influence of the Saint was the enormous estate which eventually accumulated in the hands of the priory he founded.

In the *Anonymous Life* of St. Cuthberht, and according to Symeon of Durham, King Ecgfrid and Archbishop Theodore made over to him at his

¹ Miss Arnold-Forster, ii. p. 87.

² *Op. cit.* ii. 89-91.

consecration as bishop, the whole of the land in the city of York which extended from the Wall to the Church of St. Peter, as far as the great gate towards the west, and from the wall of that church as far as the City wall upon the south. They also gave him the vill of Creca (now Crayke, near Easingwold), with a circuit of three miles round it, "that he might have a dwelling in which to rest on his way to York or on his return thence," and where he planted some monks. As the land there, however, was inadequate, he received an addition at Lugubalia (otherwise called Luel), i.e. Carlisle, which embraced a circuit of fifteen miles, where he planted a convent of nuns, and where, as we have seen, he consecrated the Queen as a nun. There he also founded schools for the improvement of Divine service.¹

It was on the estate just quoted, namely, in the Royal vill at Exanford (probably some place on the river Exe in Cumberland), that, after Cuthberht performed the miracle of raising a dead boy, King Ecgfrid also gave him the land called Cartmel, and all the Britons with it, and also the vill of Suthgedluit (Mr. Arnold suggests that this is one of the Yealands on Morecambe Bay), and what pertained to it. Symeon adds the rather cryptic sentence: "*Haec omnia sibi a sancto Cuthberto commissa bonus abbas Cineferth filius Cygincg sapienter ordinavit sicut voluit.*"² Symeon

¹ *Vit. Anon. St. Cuth.*, 13; Symeon, *Hist. Ecc. Dun.*, I. chap. ix.

² Sym. Dun., *Hist. St. Cuth.* (ed. T. Arnold), ch. vi. p. 200.

further says that Ecgfrid, who was absent on his war with Wulfhore of Mercia, having been greatly helped by the prayers of St. Cuthberht, gave him Carrum (*i.e.* Carham) and all that belonged to it as a reward.

When the Danes attacked and destroyed Lindisfarne in the year 875, the bishop and monks there removed the body of their saint from its shrine, and having placed the head of St. Oswald, a few bones of St. Aidan, some bones of Bishops Eata, Eadfrid, Æthelwold the anchorite, and, according to Leland, those of Abbot Ceolwulf, in his coffin, set out "they knew not whither." Their long wanderings lasted for seven years until the Danes had been overcome by King Alfred. Reginald says that at the time they escaped it was high water at Lindisfarne, but the waves drew back and gave them a passage on dry ground!!! They probably first fled to the Northumbrian hills. Symeon says they removed from place to place in Northumbria, like sheep fleeing from wolves. During their wanderings four only (some of the accounts say seven) of the monks were allowed to touch the coffin of the Saint. At first it would appear that the coffin was carried on their shoulders, but presently in a vision he is said, according to Reginald, to have suggested an easier way of portage, and miraculously supplied a horse-and carriage on wheels; Symeon calls it a *carrum*, and also a *caballus vehiculus*. The four privileged persons allowed to touch the bier and its contents

were called Hunred, Stitheard, Edmund, and Franco, and Symeon says there were many of their descendants in Northumbria, both lay and clerical, living in his day, who were proud of a tie with a man who had been so honoured.¹

Three years later, namely, in 878, St. Cuthberht in the form of a beggar is said by Symeon to have solicited charity from King Alfred at Athelney, who gave him a little of the food he was eating, whereupon the Saint promised and secured him a victory in the battle he was about to fight at Assandune.²

To return to the Saint and his wanderings. Prior Wessington of Durham reports how his remains ceased not to perform miracles at the various places where they halted. Thus it came about that in the western parts (*in partibus occidentalibus*) wherever the remains rested, many churches and chapels were afterwards built in his honour. Wessington compiled and placed over the choir door of the Church of Durham in 1416 a list of such of them as he knew of, which is still preserved, and which is given by Raine as follows :—

Lancastrieschire. — Furnes, Kirkby Ireleth,³

Haxheved,⁴ Aldynham,⁵ Lethom in Amundrenesse,⁶ Meler,⁷ Halsall,⁸ Birnsale in

¹ *Hist. Dun. Eccl.*, II. xii.

² *Ib.* x.

³ i.e. "West Kirkby."

⁴ Now known as Hawkshead, between Windermere and Coniston.

⁵ Aldingham, east of Furness. ⁶ Now called Lytham.

⁷ Mellor, three miles north-west of Blackburn.

⁸ Ten miles from Ormskirk.

Craven,¹ Emmyldon in Coupeland,² Lorton, Kelett in Lonsdall and Middleton near Manchester.

Cleyvfland (*i.e.* Cleveland).—Lethom, Kildale, Merton, Wilton, Ormisby.

Rychmondeschir, Southcouton, Forsete, Overton near York, Barton (and, on the authority of Roger Gale, Marske, which the prior had overlooked).

Yorke.—Pesholme, Fysshlake, Acworth.

Duremschir.—Eccles, Cath. Dunelm, Cestre, Redmersell, Capella in Castr. Dunelm.

Westmerlande. — Cleburn (now Cliburne) (Sanderson adds Dufton).

Commerlande.—Church in Carlisle, Edynhall, Salkeld, Plumblant (Sanderson adds Bewcastle).

Northumberlande. — Norham, Bedlyngton, Carram (*i.e.* Carham, near Coldstream), Ellysden in Ryddesdale, Haydon brigg, Beltyngeham.³

Accepting Wessington's statement that a church dedicated to Cuthberht in early times meant that the Saint and his company had rested there, and, further, that the cortége started from Lindisfarne and finished its journey at Craike; Raine, using

¹ This is situated in Yorkshire.

² Embleton in Cumberland; Lorton, the next entry, is in the same county.

³ Raine's *Cuthberht*, 44, note. In addition to the churches it is very probable that crosses were also set up at other resting-places of the Saint, which were of less importance.

the above list, tries to trace their journey. He says : “ Elsdon¹ was the first place towards which the fugitives directed their steps. They then travelled down the Reed, from which they turned upwards to Haydon Bridge.² Afterwards they ascended the South Tyne to Beltingham, thence they followed the line of the Roman Wall to Bewcastle, and then went in a southern direction to Salkeld, three miles south-west of Kirkoswald, thence to Edenhall, and thence to Plumbland, four miles south south-east of Cockermouth, so-called, according to Reginald, from the dense woods round it, and afterwards into Lancashire to the places above mentioned. Next they came towards the Derwent, whence they determined, at the instance of Eardulf, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and Eadred, Abbot of Carlisle, to pass over into Ireland, as the only place of safety. They hired a ship, which was to meet them at the mouth of the Derwent, in Cumberland, and the body of the Saint was put on board. Those who supported the Bishop and the Abbot in this course had not told the majority of the company, who were taken by surprise when they found themselves left behind on the beach. ‘ Farewell, turn the prow to Ireland,’ said the former. The majority who were left behind now appealed to St. Cuthberht not to allow himself to be thus carried off as a prisoner, while they were left like sheep

¹ In Redesdale, once covered with forest and morasses.

² Six miles from Hexham.

to the teeth of wolves. Thereupon a storm arose and the ship had to return, and in the confusion the book of St. Cuthberht's Gospels, now known as the Lindisfarne Gospels, fell into the sea and disappeared. According to Symeon, Cuthberht thereupon appeared in a vision and told one of them, named Hunred, where they would find it. They accordingly proceeded along the coast as far as Whitherne, in Galloway. There they found it on the sands almost three miles from high-water mark during the ebb of a spring tide."¹ In the list of the relics at Durham we have the entry : " Item. The book of St. Cuthberht with the copy of the Evangelists."² While in this wild country the travellers suffered much from want of proper food, and for some days lived on a horse's head which they had salted and some stale cheese. The former they had bought for five silver "sicli" (*quinque solidorum siclis argenti*).³

Returning to Raine's account of the itinerary of the Saint and his conductors. After recovering the book they proceeded to Westmorland, where they lingered a while, first at Cliburne and next at Dufton.⁴ They then crossed over Stainmore into Teesdale, where, as the name of the hamlet shows, they stayed a while at Cutherston.⁵ Thence crossing the hills to Marske⁶ they went to Forcett and Barton, and then south-

¹ Sym., *Hist. Ecc. Dun.*, ii. 12.

² Raine, *Cuthberht*, 126.

³ Reg. of Durham, ch. xv.

⁴ Under the shelter of Dufton fells.

⁵ i.e. Cuthberht's stone.

⁶ In Swaledale.

wards to Craike, to a property given to Cuthberht on his consecration, lingering on the way at Cowton, and afterwards at the various places in Cleveland above mentioned. Raine says he had omitted the legend of Cuthberht's voyage in a stone boat-shaped coffin down the Tweed from Melrose to Tilmouth, the remains of which were reported to have been preserved at the latter place. Remains of a stone coffin are indeed there, but the story itself was an invention of the eighteenth century, and it was not the only one of the kind made by Lambe, an editor of a poem on Flodden Field.¹

The cavalcade reached Craike in the autumn of 882.² There Abbot Eadred seems to have ingratiated himself with the Danish chief Guthred, under whose auspices the brethren moved to Cuncacestre (now Chester-le-Street), where Bishop Eardulf had fixed his episcopal see. There, according to Symeon, he built them a wooden cathedral, which the Danish ruler handsomely endowed.³ It remained there for a hundred and thirteen years, and presently the King, at the bidding of St. Cuthberht, gave them all the land between the Tyne and the Wear as a perpetual possession for the Saint, with the right of inviolable sanctuary, so that any one who reached it was safe for thirty-seven days.⁴

The next important event in the fortunes of

¹ Raine, 43-47.

² There, according to Symeon of Durham, they were sheltered by Abbot Geve, and stayed four months (*Hist. Dun. Ecc.*, ii. ch. 13).

³ *Ib.* 28.

⁴ Sym. Dun., *ib.* 13.

the Saint's remains was the visit of King Athelstane to his shrine at Chester-le-Street on his way to Scotland to punish King Constantine for the breach of his treaty with him. The lordly gifts presented by the King on this visit are duly enumerated,¹ and are worth recording here. They consisted of a copy of the Gospels, which contained a statement that it had been presented to St. Cuthberht by Athelstane;² "two chasubles, one alb, one stole with a maniple, one girdle (*cingulum*), three altar-cloths, one chalice of silver, two patens, one made of gold and the other of Greek work (*Graeco opere*), one censer of silver, one cross ingeniously made of gold and ivory, one royal cap (*Regius pileus*) woven of gold, two tablets of gold and silver (probably they were two *paxes*), one missal, two copies of the Gospels ornamented with gold and silver, a Life of St. Cuthberht written in verse and prose (doubtless Bede's two lives), seven palls, three curtains (*cortinas*) (these were probably to be hung on iron rods on each side of the altar), three pieces of tapestry (*tapecia*) (doubtless to cover the bare walls of the chancel), two cups (*coppas*) of silver with covers, three large bells, two horns fabricated of gold and silver, two banners, one lance, and two bracelets of gold."³

Athelstane's son Eadmund also visited the shrine on his campaign in Scotland to ask the

¹ See Cott. MS., Brit. Mus., Claudio D, iv.

² It was in the Cotton Library, Otho B, 9, and was, unfortunately, burnt in the Cotton fire in 1731.

³ See Raine, *op. cit.* 51 and 52.

Saint's aid. He offered his prayers there, and placed two bracelets which he took from his own arms on his body, together with two palls of Greek workmanship (*duo pallia Graeca*).¹

The next notable visitor who is recorded among those who went to the Saint's shrine was a monk from Winchester whose narrative is extant. He tells us he brought with him to Durham some vestments, and put them with his own hands on Cuthberht's body.² These vestments no doubt included the famous stole and maniple still preserved in the library at Durham, which had been embroidered for Bishop Fritheson of Winchester by Queen Æthel-dreda, who had died in 933, as is recorded in a stitched inscription on the vestments themselves.

Presently, and in 995, the body of St. Cuthberht, with its treasures, was again removed, in consequence of a præmonition received by Bishop Aldune of a fresh threatened attack from the Danes, and was taken to Ripon for two or three months. Symeon says the removal of the whole community, young and old, with its property took place without any mishap.³ It was then determined to build a fresh church at Durham, on a site which, according to Symeon, had been pointed out by Cuthberht himself. The first church there (a wooden one) was replaced by Bishop Aldune by a stone one in 999, in which the Saint's body was reverently deposited.

The famous Bishop Alfwold of Sherborne,

¹ MS. Cotton, Claudius D, iv. fol. 221; Raine, 53 and note.

² Thorpe, *Diplom.*, 321.

³ H.D.E., iii.

1045–1058, also visited the shrine of St. Cuthberht. William of Malmesbury says of him that he was devoted to the memory of the Saint and continually repeated an antiphon about him, the words of which he gives.¹ We are told he had the audacity to raise the lid of the coffin and to talk with the dead man as with a friend. He also put a pledge of his love on his head (*xeniolum in perpetui pignus amoris depositum*).²

The church became the nucleus and mother of the splendid cathedral we all still so much venerate, of which St. Cuthberht's shrine was the greatest treasure, and which was begun by Bishop Carilef. While the new cathedral was building, St. Cuthberht's remains were removed to a fine stone tomb in the cloister garth, raised a yard above the ground, and was covered with a large and beautiful broad marble slab. They were translated thence in 1104 to the stone feretory or bier on which the metal shrine stood, which had been prepared for it in Carilef's cathedral, and was placed behind the screen and in the apse of the nave. Reginald says the feretory was supported by nine pillars.

I will now revert to an interesting story enshrined in one of Reginald of Durham's miraculous tales. "In times of old," he says, "there flourished one Ælfred Westoue (who was the grandfather of Ailred of Riveaulx, to whom Reginald dedicated his book), who for the love he bore to St. Cuthberht was granted peculiar privileges, for as often as

¹ *G.P.*, ii. 82.

² *Ib.*

he pleased he might freely open the coffin of the Saint and might wrap him in new robes as he thought fit, and he could obtain from him whatever he wished without delay; and from long familiarity we are told he attained to such a degree of cordiality with him that it was his custom to cut the overgrowing hair of his venerable head, to adjust it by dividing and smoothing it with an ivory comb, and to cut the nails of his fingers, tastefully reducing them to roundness." The purpose of this might well be to secure some relics to dispose of, to such devotees as would pay handsomely for them. "He was in the habit of showing some of his friends portions of the cuttings of the hair, and by way of experiment, after he had filled a censer with burning coals, he would, by aid of silver tongs (*cum forcipe*), which he had fashioned for the express purpose, expose a single hair to the flames in the sight of all. But the hair," adds the ingenuous narrative, "would immediately, after the fashion of gold, glisten in the midst of the fire and undergo neither injury nor diminution; and after an hour, when removed by the tongs, would assume its former colour. Whence," says Reginald, "it is believed those forceps, along with the large ivory comb, perforated in its centre, are found in the coffin of the blessed Bishop, still retaining their original beauty and freshness, and with the reverence of honour are placed upon a tablet by the side of his body."

All this interesting story is introduced by

Reginald to illustrate a quaint miracle which he has to tell. In this he says, that by the carelessness of the custodian Ælfred, a hole in Cuthberht's coffin had been left open, whereupon a weasel, which the famous teller of stories diagnoses in a primitive way as *fera quaedam subterranea quae non esse dinoscitur bestia pecudis sed reptile quoddam terrenum animae viventis . . . de murium genere*, and which was about to produce young, made its nest in a corner in a quiet place of the coffin in which to do so. She used to enter the hole which was near the Saint's feet without disturbing his remains or garments when going to and fro to procure food for its little ones. The Saint was very angry with the custodian for this neglect, and bade him expel the intruder. This was speedily accomplished.¹

The silver forceps or tongs and the comb above-mentioned as having afterwards been found in his coffin, had nothing to do with Cuthberht's day therefore, but dated from post-Conquest times. The forceps disappeared at the Reformation, but the comb still remains in the Library at Durham.

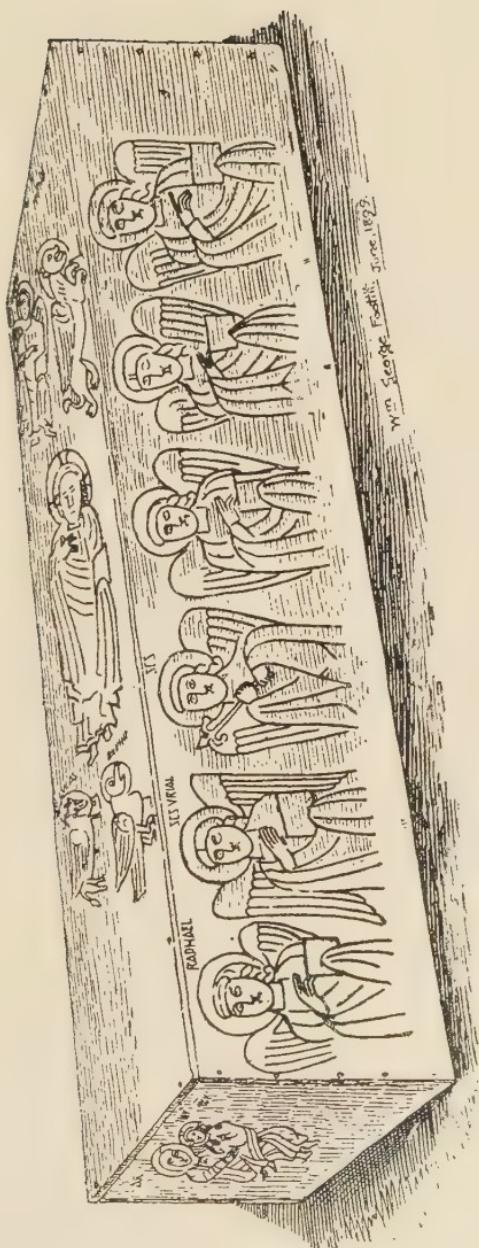
We will now return to the later translation of the Saint's body, of which we have two minute accounts, one from an anonymous writer, and the other from Reginald of Durham.

The former tells us that the brethren opened the outermost receptacle one day as soon as it was dark, and prostrated themselves before the venerable chest amid tears and prayers, and then, aided by

¹ Reginald of Durham, *op. cit.* ch. 26; Raine, *op. cit.* 58 and 59.

instruments of iron, they forced it open, when inside they found another chest covered on all sides with hides carefully fixed to it by iron nails and bands. At the command of the prior they broke open the iron bands and inside found a coffin of wood (which had been covered all over with a coarse cloth of a threefold texture) of the length of a man, and covered with a lid of the same description. The brethren were convinced that this was the actual coffin in which the Saint lay, and made up their minds not to disturb his remains any more, but were persuaded by one of their companions named Leofwin ("meaning in Anglian a dear friend," says our reporter), that it was their duty to open this second coffin also. They accordingly moved the venerable body from behind the altar into the middle of the choir, where there was more ample space for their investigation. They first took off the linen cloth which enveloped the coffin, and then tried to peer into the interior through a chink with a candle, but without success. They accordingly lifted the lid, and then found a third cover resting on transverse bars, and occupying the whole length and breadth of the coffin, so as to conceal its contents entirely. On its upper part, near the head, lay a book of the Gospels. They raised this lid by means of two iron rings fixed in it to lift it by, one at the head and the other at the feet. Reginald¹ describes this innermost coffin (*theca*) as a quadrangular chest with a flat cover, like the lid of a box.

¹ *Op. cit.* ch. 43.



St. CUTHBERT'S COFFIN. For FURTHER DETAILS SEE LATER ON.

[Vol. III., facing p. 63.]

It was made entirely of black oak. He doubts, he says, whether "it had acquired this colour by age, from some device, or from nature." The whole of it, he adds, was externally carved with admirable engraving of minute and delicate work. The design was divided into small compartments, occupied by divers beasts, flowers, and images, which seemed to be inserted, engraved, or furrowed out in the wood. This excellent description is fully borne out by the remains of the coffin still extant. These designs, which are made with incised lines, seem, says Mr. Raine, to have been cut on the surface of the wood by a sharp pointed knife or chisel, and partly by some instrument such as the "scrieve" of the woodman; this is confirmed by the fact that a slight single line made with the point of a knife, but now scarcely discernible, runs between each engraving.¹

Reginald also speaks of the coffins themselves as having an outer cover decorated with gold and precious stones, and fastened irremovably to them by long iron nails.

Let us now turn from the coffins to their contents, which are particularly interesting as specimens of the artistic work and the burial rites at a time when we have very few evidences remaining. The anonymous writer says, that having raised the lid at the bidding of the prior, the brethren smelt an odour of the sweetest fragrancy. They found the body of the Saint lying on its

¹ *Op. cit.* 189.

side in a perfect state, and from the flexibility of its joints representing a person asleep rather than one dead. It contained, besides, the head of "the glorious king and martyr Oswald," and the bones of the confessor and priest Aidan and Bishops Eadberht, Eadfrid, and Ethelwold, those of the Venerable Bede (which were contained in a small linen sack), and, according to William of Malmesbury, "the bones of King Ceolwulf, monk and saint."¹ These relics were not in the coffin originally, but had been placed there in later times, and after the Danish invasion, being such as had afterwards been rescued by Ælfred above named.

The anonymous writer says that the two monks who had been deputed to remove the venerable body from the coffin stood at the head and feet, and holding it by those parts it began to bend in the middle like a living man, and to sink forwards from its natural weight of solid flesh and bones. A third then ran up by special command and supported its middle in his arms. They then placed it reverently upon tapestry and other robes. Having removed the other relics from the coffin, they again replaced the Saint's body in it. It was midnight, and they sang a Te Deum and psalms of exultation, and in the morning reported all they had seen and done to the Bishop, who was credulous about some of the details. The following

¹ Raine, *op. cit.* 79. In a Durham MS. mentioned by Raine it is said there were also bones of the hermits Balter and Billfred and of Ebbe and Elfirge, and bones and hair of St. Ethelwold the priest who succeeded Cuthberht as hermit at Farne.

night they therefore again took out the coffin, and again put the body on some robes and tapestry on the pavement and proceeded to unwrap the outer covering, which was a vesture of a costly kind. Next below this was a purple dalmatic, and then a linen robe, doubtless a chasuble. All these swathements retained their original freshness. The chasuble which the Saint had worn for eleven years in his grave was removed by the brethren on this occasion, and was afterwards preserved in the church. Having examined the body carefully, and "ascertained that it was a body in a state of incorruption," they, in addition to the robes it already wore, clothed it with the most costly pall they could find in the church, and over this they placed a covering of the purest linen. They then replaced it in the coffin. The other things which they had found with it they also replaced, namely, an ivory comb and a pair of forceps, still retaining their freshness, and, as became a priest, a silver altar, a linen cloth for covering the sacramental elements and a paten. There was also a chalice — small in size, but precious from its materials and workmanship. Its lower part represented a lion of the purest gold, which bore on its back an onyx stone made hollow by the most beautiful workmanship. It was attached to the lion so that it could easily be turned round by the hand, although it could not be separated from it. The only relic found in the coffin, which was replaced there, was the head of St. Oswald.¹

¹ Raine, *op. cit.* 81.

Let us now turn to Reginald, who gives some further details. He says that the pillow on which the body lay was made of costly silk, and had been previously placed under the body. So far as it was covered by it, it shone with all the brightness of a recent texture. But that part of it which had been occupied by the relics of the other saints was devoured by moths and reduced to dust and ashes. These latter relics were placed in certain wooden receptacles, and were preserved elsewhere in the church in a larger repository specially made for them. Instead of replacing the Saint on the floor of the coffin, they made a platform on four feet, which they placed inside it, and on it put the body, so that it lay not more than half down the coffin. In regard to the vestures in which he lay, Reginald says his body was everywhere immediately enveloped with a very thinly woven sheet of linen, being the winding-sheet which the Abbess Verca gave him. Next to this was his priestly alb, with an amice on his neck and shoulders. His cheeks and face were covered with a cloth. Above all these was a purple face cloth, which concealed the mitre. He adds that no similar kind of cloth as this last was made in his time. Upon his forehead was a fillet of gold, not of woven work, "but it was externally covered with gold," and sparkling with precious stones all over. Above the alb was a stole, the extremities of which were visible near his feet, and a *fanon*, described by Archbishop Eyre as a silk cloth, hung behind

the shoulders and tied round the neck, to which was attached a small hood which covered the back of the head and was worn under the mitre.¹ These were his priestly vestments. Over them were his episcopal robes, consisting of a tunic and dalmatic of costly purple tinged with red and ornamented in the loom.

Speaking of the dalmatic, he says “it still retained the grace of its original freshness and beauty, and, as it were, crackled in the fingers of those who handled it on account of the solidity of the work and the stiffness of the thread. In it were interwoven figures as well of birds as of small animals, extremely minute in their workmanship and subdivision. To add to its beauty, the robe was variegated with frequent dashes of citron colour, as it were in drops. The edge was surrounded by a border of a handsbreadth in width made of thread of gold-like embroidery. There was a similar border upon the extremity of each sleeve around the wrists of the glorious bishop, while round the neck was a broader one covering the greater part of both shoulders, as well as hanging in front.” “His hands,” he says, “reclined upon his breast, and appeared to be extended out with fingers towards heaven.” In regard to the chasuble which was moved from the body at this time, he says “it was afterwards kept in an ivory casket at Durham, and many miracles were attributed to it. On the saint’s feet were episcopal shoes or sandals,

¹ *Op. cit.* 172 and 3 notes.

which were perforated in front with numerous very small holes.”¹

Next to the dalmatic, says Reginald, “his holy body” was clothed with other costly robes of silk, the nature of which was not clearly ascertained. Above these was a sheet nine cubits in length and three and a half in breadth, in which the whole mass of holy relics had been swathed. It had a fringe of linen thread of a finger’s breadth on one of its edges; on the sides and ends was woven a border of an inch wide, bearing upon it a very minute and projecting workmanship fabricated with the thread itself, and containing on its extremity figures of birds and beasts, so that between each pair of them was represented a branching tree dividing the figures. The tree appears to be putting forth leaves on both sides. Under this, on the adjacent compartment, the interwoven figures of animals again appeared. This sheet was removed from the body of the Saint at the time of the translation, and was long afterwards preserved in the church, entire, on account of the gifts daily given to it by the faithful.²

Above the sheet was still another cloth of a thicker substance and of a threefold texture, which covered its whole surface and all the relics beneath

¹ Plummer says of such funereal sandals that, although a Christian significance may be given them, they are probably derived from “the hellshoon” with which it was the custom for the heathen to bind the feet of a corpse (*Gisla Saga, Orig. Isl.*, ii. 208, where we read “it is customary to bind hellshoon on men on which they may walk to Valhalla.” Plummer, ii. pp. 270 and 271).

² Raine, *op. cit.* 90 and 91.

it ; and above it was a third envelope saturated with wax, which had covered the inner coffin of the holy body externally to exclude the dust.

These three sheets were taken away at the time, and instead of them there were put on the body others much more elegant and costly ; the first was of silk, thin and of most delicate texture. The second was costly, of incomparable purple cloth ; and the third, which was the outer and last of all, was of the finest linen.¹

Reginald repeats the list of the other objects found in the coffin, as given by the anonymous author. He adds that the scissors, according to report, had been used to cut his hair. In regard to the comb, he says it was perforated so that three fingers might almost be inserted in the hole. It was of almost equal length and breadth, and had acquired a ruddy tint.² I have been particular in giving details of these objects because of the rarity of such descriptions relating to so early a date, and of their intrinsic interest to the historian of art.

At length all things were ready for the translation, and there was a great flocking to Durham of men of all conditions. One of the abbots who came, complained of the secret character of the late proceedings, at which the integrity of the Saint's body was said to have been proved ; and even suggested that the story of the local monks, who had a special interest in it, was a fiction. The discussion grew very warm when

¹ Raine, *op. cit.* 91.

² *Ib. ch. 42.*

Ranulf, Abbot of Seez, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, intervened and persuaded the monks to have the matter duly investigated. Thereupon the prior led the way, followed by the Abbot just named, Richard, Abbot of St. Albans, Stephen, Abbot of St. Mary at York, and Hugh, Abbot of St. German at Selby, all in their albs; next came Alexander, brother of the King of Scotland (afterwards King), and William, chaplain to the Bishop of Durham, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Then followed forty monks and seculars, and lastly came the brethren of the Church. After a prayer the body was brought into the choir, where the coffin was reopened. The prior then raised his hand and forbade, under tremendous penalty, any stranger but the Abbot of Seez touching the body or anything connected with it, and he told the rest of them to stand hard by and to look but not to touch. The abbot aforesaid, with a brother of the Church, unfolded the vestments around the venerable head (which, as we have seen, was covered with a cloth that was glued to it), raised it a little with both his hands in the sight of all, and bending it backwards in different directions found it perfect in all the joints of its neck, and firmly attached to the rest of the body. He then touched the ear and drew it backwards and forwards in no gentle manner, and satisfied himself that the body consisted of solid nerves and bones and was clothed with the softness of flesh, and, we are told, took care to ascertain the perfect state of the feet and legs. He then pronounced it to be as sound and

entire as when it was forsaken by its soul. It will be noted that the Abbot of Seez, a very prejudiced person, was, in fact, the only witness. All things being arranged as before, the body of the Saint was raised on to the shoulders of a number of bearers, who bore it along. It was preceded by the various caskets of relics of the other saints, the Bishop bringing up the rear, and was duly acclaimed by the crowd outside. When the procession had gone round the outside of the church it halted at the east end, where the Bishop preached a sermon, which Reginald says was appropriate to the occasion, but quite wore out the patience of many of the hearers by its prolixity. It was apparently interrupted by a sudden downfall of rain, whereupon the brethren hastily took up the coffin and carried it into the church, when the rain suddenly ceased. This incident was accepted as a proof that it was not pleasing to God that the sacred body should remain any longer in unholy ground.¹ William of Malmesbury, in reporting the event, tells us that the face-cloth clung so closely to the face of the Saint that the Abbot of Seez tried in vain to separate it from the parts to which it was attached. He goes on to say that, after the ceremony above described, all things were ready in the new church for the translation of the body, namely, a choir of monks, an altar, and a sepulchre. The only obstacle was the frame of timber upon which the newly built arch of the choir had been "turned," which it was intended to remove by

¹ Raine, *op. cit.* 83-85.

degrees. "But, oh, most holy one" (*i.e.* Cuthberht), says Malmesbury, "thou sufferedst not the longing desires of thy servants to be further delayed, but didst thyself at midnight lay it flat on the ground! for who else could have done so mighty a deed?" The Prior heard the noise and ran to the spot, caring little for the scaffold but sadly afraid for the altar and pavement, but both, as well as the wood-work, were saved from injury by the Saint.¹

Let us now continue the story of the shrine. Among the various institutions of the Middle Ages a very singular one was the purchasing of "letters of fraternity," by gifts and otherwise, from other communities in order to secure their prayers. We are told that in 1175, Dufgal, son of Sumerled, Stephen his chaplain, and Adam of Stamford received "the fraternity," *i.e.* "the brotherhood" of the Church, at the feet of St. Cuthberht on the vigil of St. Bartholomew, and the said Dufgal offered two gold rings to the Saint, and promised that he would annually pay the convent a mark of silver, either in pence or in an equivalent.²

The treasuries of churches and shrines were too handy for needy kings in the Middle Ages to avoid plundering them when ready money was so scarce. Thus we read that when Henry III. visited St. Cuthberht's shrine in 1255, and while he was at his devotions, a courtier whispered in his

¹ Malmesbury, *De Gest. Pont.*, lib. iii. ch. 135; Raine, *op. cit.* 93, 94.

² MS. at Durham, B, iv. 24; Raine, 151, note.

ear that certain of his bishops had hidden much treasure in St. Cuthberht's tomb. "The King made shorte, and opening the tomb found it to be even so; whereupon he devised to *borrow* the same lest they should charge him with profanation of the holy reliques; but Paris (*i.e.* Matthew Paris) complaineth that they were never half payd again."¹

Perhaps the most famous of the relics connected with the name of Cuthberht was his corporal, *i.e.* the napkin he used for covering the sacramental elements. His anonymous biographer and Reginald both tell us it was placed with the other objects in the coffin at the translation of 1104.² There it remained till 1346, when, according to Sanderson, on the night before the battle of Durham (*i.e.* of Neville's Cross), the 17th October 1346, there appeared to John Fosser, then Prior of the Abbey of Durham, a vision commanding him to take "the holy corporax cloth" wherewith St. Cuthberht covered the chalice when he used to say Mass, and to put the same holy relique upon a spear-point, and next morning to repair to a place on the west of the city of Durham called the Red Hills, and there to remain till the end of the battle. The reporter of this claims that "the English victory was due to the presence of the monk and of the holy relic he had with him."

"Shortly after," he adds, "the Prior caused a very sumptuous banner to be made with pipes of

¹ Lombard's *Top. Dict.*, 86; Raine, *St. Cuthberht*, 230.

² Raine, pp. 81 and 91.

silver, to be put on a staff five yards long, with a device to take off and put on the said pipes at pleasure, and to be kept in a chest in the feretory when they were taken down, which banner was shewn and carried about in the abbey on festival and principal days. On the height of the uppermost pipe was a pretty cross of silver, and a wand of silver, having a fine wrought knob of silver on either end, that went over the banner cloth to which it was fastened, which wand was the thickness of a man's finger, having at either end a fine silver bell. The wand was fastened by the middle to the banner staff under the cross. The banner cloth was a yard broad and five quarters deep, and the bottom of it was indented in five parts and fringed, and made fast all about it with red silk and gold. It was also made of red velvet on both sides, sumptuously embroidered and wrought with flowers of green silk and gold, and in the midst thereof was the said holy relic and corporax cloth enclosed, which corporax cloth was covered over with white velvet half a yard square in every way, having a cross of red velvet on both sides over that holy relique, most artificially compiled and framed, being finely fringed from the edge and skirts with fringe of red silk and gold and three fine little silver bells fastened to the skirts of the said banner-cloth like unto sacring bells, and being so sumptuously finished was dedicated to holy St. Cuthberht, to the intent that for the future it should be carried to any battle as occasion should serve. Whenever it was

carried in procession it was the clerk's office to attend it, with his surplice on, with a fine red painted staff having a fork or cleft at the upper end thereof, which cleft was lined with soft silk, having down under the silk to prevent bursting or bruising of the pipes of the banner, which were of silver, or taking down or raising up again by reason of its great weight. There were always four men to go along with it, besides the clerk and the man who carried it. There was also a strong girdle of white leather, that he who bore St. Cuthberht's banner did wear whenever it was carried abroad. The banner was made fast to it with two pieces of white leather, and at each end of the two pieces a socket of horn was fastened to put the end of the banner staff into.”¹

The Bursars' Roll for Durham Cathedral under the years 1355–6 contains an interesting entry, showing that the banner accompanied King Edward the Third to recover Berwick from the Scots in his campaign of that year. It reads : “The expenses of Sir William de Masham, ‘the Terrarer,’ towards Scotland with the banner of St. Cuthberht, in the suite of our Lord the King, with a pipe of wine and a tent bought for the same, £15, 16s. 8d.”² Again : “To expences of William de Cheker at Newcastle with the banner of St. Cuthberht to be carried to our Lord the King.”³

In 1400–1, Henry IV. marched against Scotland, and we duly find an entry in the account books of

¹ *Op. cit.* 26, quoted by Raine, 106–108.

² *Ib.* 109.

³ *Ib.*

Durham: "For a belt bought for carrying the banner, and for expenses incurred twice at Newcastle, and towards the march with the banner of St. Cuthberht, by order of the Lord and King and the Prior, 8s. od."¹

Charges continue to appear for mending the banner and for carrying it, and in 1522 it was again in the field against Scotland to sustain the English at Flodden. Nor was this its last appearance. It was to lead a serried host once more. This was in the great rebellion of the Percies and Nevilles against Henry VIII. in defence of the great northern abbeys in 1536, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace.²

Sanderson tells us the final doom of the banner. He says that "after the dissolution of the abbey it fell into the hands of Dean Whittingham, whose wife, being a Frenchwoman (as was reported by credible eye-witnesses), did most spitefully burn the robe in the fire."

Let us now return to the history of St. Cuthberht's shrine. In the year 1372, John, Lord Neville of Raby, spent £200 in building a fine feretory of marble and alabaster on which to plant the shrine of St. Cuthberht. This work was executed in London and taken to Newcastle by sea at the cost of the donor, and thence removed to Durham at the expense of the Church. The work, together with the fine screen presented by the same nobleman, was finished in 1380, when the altar was

¹ Raine, 137. ² See Raine's *Hexham*, Appendix CXXXVI. note i.



THE REMAINS OF THE FERETORY AND TOMB OF
ST. CUTHBERHT.

[Vol. III., facing p. 82.]

solemnly dedicated to the Virgin, St. Oswald the Martyr, and St. Cuthberht.¹ A minute description of the feretory as it existed at the Dissolution is extant. "It was 37 feet long and 23 broad, and was of most curious workmanship of fine and costly green marble, all lined and gilt with gold, having four seats in places convenient underneath for pilgrims or lame men 'sitting' on their knees, to lean and rest on in the time of their offerings and prayers. It was deemed one of the most sumptuous monuments in all England, so great were the offerings and jewels bestowed on it. At the end of the shrine, and adjoining it, was a little altar where mass was said only on the great and holy feast of St. Cuthberht's day in Lent, at which the Prior and the whole convent did keep open household in the Frater-house.² They did dine together on that day,

¹ Raine, *op. cit.* 110.

² It will be profitable to set out the supplies prepared by the Cellarer of Durham for the week's festivities on the occasion of St. Cuthberht's great week, which is in notable contrast with the austeries of an earlier day. In an undated Cellarer's Roll at Durham we read:—

"The week of the feast of St. Cuthberht and the Nativity of the Virgin, a horse-load of fish from Sunderland, 20d. ; 260 salt herrings, 2/7 ; twenty cod fish (*dogdraves*), 1/7 ; six oxen and a half, 55/- ; twenty-one sheep, 35/10 ; three kids, 7/2 ; twelve pork pigs, 5/4 ; seven dozen and three chickens, 7/7 ; four dozen and a half pigeons, 18d. ; other fowl (*volatil*), 3/1 ; cows' feet, 6d. ; fish, 8/5 ; 780 eggs, 5/1 ; five pounds of pepper, 6/8 ; half a pound of saffron, 7/6 ; six pounds of figs ; six pounds of raisins (*racemi magni*), 12d. ; a quarter of cloves (*garioptoi*) ; a quarter of mace (*de maces*), 12d. ; four flagons of oil, 6/8 ; two pounds of currants (*racemi de currans*), 10d. ; two flagons of honey, 2/- ; six pounds of almonds, 18d. ; one pound of ginger, 12d."

In another document dated 1312-1315, and also referring to St. Cuthberht's feast, we find:—

and no other, and at that feast and certain other festival days they were accustomed to draw up the cover of St. Cuthberht's shrine. Being of wainscot a cord was fastened to a loop of iron at each corner, which cords were all fastened together at the ends over the midst of the cover, and a strong rope was fastened to the loops and bindings of the cords, which ran up and down in a pulley under the vault over St. Cuthberht's feretory for the drawing up of its cover. To this rope were also fastened six fine round silver bells, which made such a goodly sound that it stirred all the people's hearts in the church. And the said cover was very finely and artificially gilded, and on each side of it were joined four living images curiously wrought, and on the east end was painted the picture of our

"Milk, 3/4 $\frac{1}{2}$; eight horse-load of fish, 28/-; 4500 white herrings, 26/10 $\frac{1}{2}$; playc (*i.e.* plaice), sperlings, soles, 11/9; three salmon with six *truyts* *salm* (*i.e.* salmon trout), 3/-; an ox and three quarters, 12/-; 327 geese, 73s. 16d.; 302 chickens, 40s. 3d.; thirty-eight chickens, 3/5; 18(?) capons (*altil*), 5/6; thirteen porkers, 5/-; six dozen of plovers, 4/2; eight dozen of curlews, 2/-; forty ducks, 6/-; three stone of lard, 6/-; 3000 eggs, 20/-."

A much larger provision was made for the week's feasting about the same time, when Prior Burdon was installed, when the Bishop, the Priors of the Cells, and the Justices of the Palatinate were present:—

"Forty loads of white fish, £8. 1. 1; 11,400 herrings, £3. 5. 0; 191 salmon and thirty trouts (*truytes*), £7. 12. 3; sixty-six porkers, £1. 5. 8; 552 chickens and sixteen(?) capons (*altil*), £2. 19. 0; 14,500 eggs, £4. 3. 5; milk, 3/-; milk and fresh-water fish, 4/8; vinegar (*vino ac.*), and milk fodder (*prebenda*), and milk, 3/9; congers, 7/-; bacon and veal, 15/1; *ib.* 7/-; a stone of lard, 15d.; dripping, (*oxitus*), mutton suet, 2/2; turbut and playc, 25/6; sixteen lampreys, 18/-."

In another similar entry we have mention, *inter alia*, of rice (*rys*), honey, almonds, pepper, and cinnamon (Raine, *St. Cuthberht*, pp. 158, 159, notes).

Saviour sitting upon the rainbow to give judgment, very artificially and lively to behold; and at the west end was the picture of our Lady with Christ on her knee; and on the height of the said cover from end to end was a most fine 'bratishing' of carved work, cut throughout with dragons, fowls, and beasts, most artificially wrought, and the inside of the covering was all varnished and coloured with a most fine sanguine colour, and within the same on the north and south side were almeries of wainscot finely painted with little images for the reliques belonging to St. Cuthberht to lie in, and when the shrine was drawn, *i.e.* opened, these almeries were opened so that every one might see the reliques with the jewels and all the other reliques which were hung on irons all round the feretory, and which were accounted the most sumptuous and richest jewels in all this land, with the beautifullest of the fine little images that stood in the French *pierre* (the altar screen within the feretory), which had been given by kings, queens, and other great estates.

"Within the feretory were many fine little pictures of several saints of imagery work (*i.e.* carved work), all being of alabaster, set in the French *pierre*, all being curiously engraved and gilt, and the Neville's cross and bull's head (*i.e.* the arms of the family) set upon the height.

"At the east end of the feretory were very fine candlesticks of iron, like unto sockets, which had lights set in them before day, that every monk might have the more light to see or read in their

books at the nine altars when they said Mass. Somewhere within the feretory was the box for holding the offerings of the faithful.”¹

One duty of the keeper of the feretory when any man or woman was disposed to offer prayers or some gift at the shrine, was that “when they had said their prayers and offered anything, if it were gold, silver, or jewels, to instantly hang it on the shrine, and if it were some curious object, such as a unicorn’s horn (*i.e.* a narwhal’s tooth) or the tusk of an elephant or such like, to put it within the feretory north of the shrine.”²

In 1383, Richard de Segbrok was appointed shrine-keeper, and drew up a list of the relics which were preserved in the feretory under his care. Among the entries we find: An image of St. Cuthberht, the gift of William the Bishop; in a small enamelled coffer the cope of St. Cuthberht, in which he lay in the ground for eleven years; a small coffer of ivory containing a robe of St. Cuthberht ornamented with tassels; a particle of the cloth which St. Ebba gave to St. Cuthberht, in which he lay for four hundred and eighteen years and five months, and a part of the chasuble in which he lay for eleven years, in a corporax case (this no doubt once contained the corporal afterwards inserted in St. Cuthberht’s banner, as above described) protected by glass (*glauce stepata*); an ivory casket ornamented with gold and silver con-

¹ Sanderson, quoted by Raine, 111-113.

² *Ib.* p. 114.

taining the gloves of St. Cuthberht (the casket was the gift of Dom. Richard de Birtley, monk of Durham); the book of St. Cuthberht with the copy of the Evangelists; a cloth dipped in wax which had enveloped the body of St. Cuthberht in his grave, and one of his vestments; two sandals in a case of black leather; "in a green sheet was a winding-sheet of a double texture, which had enveloped the body of St. Cuthberht in his grave—Elfled¹ the Abbess had wrapped him up in it." All these were apparently at one time or another in the Saint's coffin, and were all, with the exception of the books, destroyed at the Reformation.

In addition to the income secured by the church at Durham itself by the exhibition of the Saint and his relics there, a selection of them was used for the same purpose by monks who perambulated the country to make separate collections for various Church and charitable purposes. The practice was revived in 1410. On one of these occasions William de Hexham took with him a cross of silver gilt with an image of the Virgin inside it, and a sandal which St. Cuthberht had worn during divine service.² On another occasion, when the great tower of Durham had been injured by lightning, John Walkere, a monk, was sent round with indulgences, and took a fragment of the white cloth in which the Saint's body had been swathed four hundred years.³

¹ A mistake of Segbrok for Verca.

² Raine, 139.

³ *Ib.* 149.

Bishop Pudsey was a great patron of these eleemosynary missions. It is reported that in his time miracles were performed by the Saint's relics in Scotland, and notably at Dunfermline, where St. Margaret, a great devotee of the Saint, was buried, and where they reaped a large harvest. The Queen herself had bequeathed to the shrine a copy of the Gospels in silver covers, a robe of fair linen, and a cross decorated with pearls and precious stones.¹

The shrine of our Saint was endowed with a large number of other vestments and robes, of which a list exists.² Among them, probably the most valued was the "Parliament robe" of Richard II. "It was made of blue velvet, wrought with great lions of pure gold, 'an exceedingly rich cope.'"³ A more curious possession consisted of two pairs of pillows, of which one is described as of Cuthberht downe⁴ (*i.e.* of the down of the eyder duck). Another item consists of two poles for carrying the banner of St. Cuthberht in procession and in times of war, with a cover of hide containing the said banner.⁵

¹ Raine, 91, notes. According to Reginald of Durham, on this occasion St. Cuthberht's remains preceded those of the Queen, although she was so greatly revered all over Scotland (*ib.* ch. 98). He, in fact, had precedence of all English saints in early times. The same writer tells us how on one occasion, to test the matter, three large candles were labelled with his name and those of his early rivals, St. Edmund of Bury and St. Æthelfleda, and the candle which burnt the fastest was St. Cuthberht's, this having been accepted as a test of their potency. On another occasion when his merits were put in competition with St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Edmund, the matter was tested by tossing a coin.

² *Ib.* 142.

³ *Ib.* 135, note.

⁴ *Ib.* 142.

⁵ *Ib.* 143.

Among the later patrons of the shrine were the hapless King, Henry VI. and his vigorous queen. They visited it in September 1448, and we read that on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel the King attended in person the first vespers, the procession, the mass, and the second vespers, in the cathedral.¹ In the succeeding wars the Lancastrian cause was handsomely supported by the Prior and Convent of Durham.²

The last reputed miracle performed by St. Cuthberht at his shrine took place in July 1502, while Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII., stayed at Durham on her way to be married to the Scottish King, when one of her suite who had been ill for many years was restored to good health.³

His "pyx," as it was customary to call the collecting-box at his shrine, which had received a long succession of alms, of which the accounts are fully preserved, was first reported to be empty in 1513-14, surely a rather pathetic proof that times were changing.

In his *Remains* Camden has a paragraph showing that the merits of the Saint were being there doubted even by the orthodox. The story is amusing. "Not many years ago," he says, "a French Bishop returning out of Scotland and coming to the church of Durham and to the shrine of St. Cuthberht, kneeled down, and after his devotions offered a bauby (*sic*), saying, 'Sancte Cuthbert, si sanctus sis, ora pro me' (Saint Cuthberht, if thou beest a saint,

¹ Raine, 159.

² *Ib.* 162-3.

³ *Ib.* 165.

pray for me), but afterwards being brought to the tomb of Bede, where he also said his orisons, he offered a French crown, with this alteration : ‘*Sancta Beda, quia sanctus es, ora pro me*’ (Saint Bede, since thou art a saint, pray for me).”¹

The shrine and the feretory were not the only notable monuments of the Saint at Durham. We are told that when he was placed in his new resting-place there was made in his honour a large and curious image representing him “finely pictured with beautiful gilding and painting in the form he was wont to say Mass, with his mitre on his head, a crozier staff in his hand, and his vestments curiously engraved, which was placed upon the tombstone as soon as his body was enshrined, and round the same were set up wooden ‘stanchels,’ so close that a man could not put his hand between them and could only look through. It was covered with lead, not unlike a chapel.” This precious and harmless monument was ruthlessly destroyed by Dean Whittingham, as were many other ancient treasures, “being unwilling,” says the reporter, “that any monument erected in memory of the holy St. Cuthberht, a person sent hither by the will of Almighty God to be the occasion of building this monastical church and house, or of others formerly famous in the Church, or benefactors to it, as the priors, his predecessors, had been, and from whom he and his successors derived the conveniences and comforts of life, should remain undefaced !”²

¹ Raine, 168.

² Sanderson, in Raine, 74, note.

Dr. Bright says that a curious pictorial representation of the popular stories about St. Cuthberht may be found behind the northern stalls of Carlisle cathedral, with labels in English. One scene exhibits him as forbidding "layks (*i.e.* games) and plays, as St. Bede in his story says." In another we read : " Her saw he Aydan's sowl up-go, To hevyn blyss w^t angels two." In a third we have : " Her Bosile teld hym y^t he must de, And after y^t he (bishop) suld be." In the death scene Cuthberht rests, with hands clasped, in the arms of an attendant (Herefrid), while another monk kneels in front of him. " When bishop two yerys he had beyn, on Farne he died both holy and clene."¹ These labels offer us a very reliable specimen of the early dialect of Cumberland.

It is not wonderful that the Saint who had brought so much profit to Durham should have been very specially recorded in other monuments. The middle one of the nine altars there was dedicated to St. Cuthberht and to St. Bede. Many of the windows in the great church were painted with stories from his life or with his miracles. These are almost entirely destroyed. On the other hand, we still have at York one of the finest specimens known of fifteenth-century glass, which, notwithstanding that it has suffered damage in several removals for the purpose of saving it from destruction, and still more from repairs, remains a glorious monument of the skill and taste of the English glass painters. This is the famous

¹ *Op. cit.* 499.

Cuthberht window in York Minster, where it almost fills the south end of the eastern transept. It contains eighty-five panels devoted to the various incidents of the Saint's life, and has been described in detail in a masterly monograph by my learned friend Canon Fowler, F.S.A., in the *Journal of the Yorkshire Arch. Society*, iv. 249–368. Describing the glass, he says: “Nothing can surpass the rich gemlike effect of, for instance, the little pot-metal sparkling ruby flowers set in the midst of the clumps of green or yellow leafage. Such details point to a period when art was naturalised, and the poetry of colour perceived intuitively.”¹ It is noticeable that the scenes of the earlier part of the Saint's life in the window are taken from the mythical Irish Saga. He was also represented as the companion of St. Oswald in a fine alabaster statue in the altar screen at Durham. Another image of him was in the screen between the nave and chancel. A great figure in stone, holding his crozier in one hand and St. Oswald's head in the other, now much mutilated and removed within the feretory, was in one of the external canopies of the central tower.

The part taken by the brotherhood of Durham in the famous rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace naturally brought upon it a very special vengeance from the authorities, and we read how the shrine of St. Cuthberht was then cruelly “defaced.”

At the visitation held at Durham, Sanderson says that the Commissioners Lee, Henley, and

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 368.

Blithman found many valuable and goodly jewels, especially one precious stone, which by the valuation of the visitors and their lapidaries was of sufficient value to redeem a prince. "After the spoil of his ornaments and jewels," he says, "they approached near to his body, expecting nothing but dust and ashes, but perceiving the chest he lay in was strongly bound with iron, the goldsmith, with a smith's great forge-hammer, broke it open, when they found him whole, uncorrupt, with his face, hands, and his beard as of a fortnight's growth, and all the vestments about him as he was accustomed to say Mass, and his 'metwand' of gold lying by him. When the goldsmith perceived that he had broken one of his legs in breaking open the chest, he was sore troubled at it and cried, whereupon Dr. Henley hearing it, called to him and bade him cast down the bones; the other answered he could not get them apart, since the sinews and skin held them together, so that they would not separate. Then Dr. Henley examined him (*i.e.* the Saint) and found he was whole, and told them to take it down. Whereupon the visitors had him carried into the revestry till the King's pleasure concerning him was further known, and on the receipt thereof the prior and monks buried him in the ground under the place where his shrine had been, and which is still marked by a large blue stone, behind the altar. In the pavement near it are some grooves said to have been made by the knees of the pilgrims. It was therefore had in greater regard than the remains

of St. Edmund, St. Thomas, and others, which were all burnt."

Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury in Queen Mary's reign, describing the same occurrence, tells us how Cuthberht's wooden coffin, which was cased in white marble, was broken, and his body was by orders of Bishop Tunstall put in a grave at the very spot where the shrine had been.

Mr. Raine, although very strongly prejudiced against the old order of things, speaks pathetically of the ruthless destruction of the priory (so closely connected with our Saint), and her children. "She was bent down to the ground," he says, "like a second Niobe bereft of her offspring. Her daughter cells of Holy Island, Farne, Jarrow, Wearmouth, Finchale, Lythum, and Stamford, and her college in Oxford, had all been annihilated by the Act 27th Henry VIII., 1536. She had, like a full-grown oak upon the summit of a hill, seen the axe of innovation lay flat one green tree after another beneath her with an uninjured edge, and she must daily and hourly have anticipated the levelling of that same unblunted axe against her own dry root. She had endured five hundred years, and if eight stately trees (*densissima silva*) which grew under her protecting shade had been cut away, she, the mother, standing as she was, unimpaired and stretching out her branches from side to side, must have known she was to fall at no distant period."¹ Her

¹ *Op. cit.* 172, 173.



DETAILS OF ST. CUTHBERHT'S COFFIN.

[Vol. III., facing p. 94.]

fate, indeed, came four years later, with that unsparing hurricane by which :

“Green leaves, with yellow mixed, were torn away,
And goodly fruitage with the mother spray.”

It was not the shrine only which was largely destroyed, but the other memorials of the Saint also.

Nor was it till about three centuries had passed away that the grave of the Saint was again disturbed. This was on 27th May 1827, when many of the more interesting remains were removed to the library at Durham, where they are now kept.

When the cover of Frosterly marble, 8 feet 10 inches by 4 feet 3 inches, which had been placed there in 1542, was then removed, it disclosed a stone grave made of freestone. At the bottom of this was a large high coffin of oak in great decay, not shaped, as usual, with projecting shoulders, but in the form of a parallelogram. It had been made of oak planks one inch and three-quarters in thickness, and had been ornamented with a “mitred” moulding, with which exception its bottom, lid and sides were plain ; rods of iron, half an inch in diameter, had been inserted at proper distances in a perpendicular hole made down the middle of the plank. There were three such rods, which were meant to strengthen it, beside which were three large rings on each side, riveted to the coffin by four screw-nails to each. The lid was nearly entire, but from the dampness of the grave

was shrunken like a scroll of shrivelled parchment. The mouldings were all loose. Otherwise, the rest of the coffin was in fragments. Inside it were the remains of another in a still more decayed condition, and here and there were still clinging to it fragments of the envelope, which Mr. Raine thinks was originally made of skin.

These fragments of the inner coffin and its ornaments are very interesting from the extreme rarity of any similar remains of that date, and a few lines may be devoted to them. The most perfect fragment, representing the upper part of the figure of St. John, doubtless formed one of a series of similar figures which were cut on the sides and ends of the coffin. The incised lines are about an eighth of an inch in width and depth, and have an angular section. The figures have mostly a nimbus, their right hand is generally elevated and laid upon the breast, with the first two fingers extended as if giving the benediction, and the left hand, covered by a part of the robe, supports a book, probably intended to represent the New Testament. The figure has the inscription IOHANNIS (*sic*) by its side; on the other side, stretching over the edge of the wood, are the letters KUS, probably the last letters of Markus—St. Mark—of whose figure no trace remains. There is also the lower part of a figure of St. Luke, with the inscription LUCAS, and immediately beneath it a bull with a nimbus round its head. There are others of St. Thomas (with his name), St. Peter (holding the keys in his right



DETAILS OF ST. CUTHBERHT'S COFFIN.

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hand), St. Andrew, St. Matthew, St. Michael, St. Paul (a bearded figure with the letters PA), a fragment of a figure inscribed KAR, a fragment of another figure representing the Saviour, as appears from a broken inscription in Runic letters representing a contraction of *Iesus Sanctus*.

The figures on the lid and bottom are of larger size; only small fragments remain of them. "I have before me," says Mr. Raine, "tracings of the heads of these four figures, some of them with wings, the face of the largest of which is five inches long; another, of almost the same size, holds a sceptre, and a mutilated inscription beginning with *s̄cs* inclines one to believe it a representation of St. Oswald; and a third, inscribed *iac*, designates probably St. James. Of the fourth, only the face remains. Large fragments with representations of drapery exist which evidently belonged to the heads just named.

On a piece of the lower end of the lid is a short-winged figure, the "label" to which is worn away. There are other curious fragments, such as a well-carved figure of the Virgin and Child, the two fore feet of a lion, the head and neck of an eagle in a nimbus, and on a small fragment of wood the letters PUS, evidently the latter part of episcopus, probably attached to a figure of St. Cuthberht which has been lost.

Mr. Raine calls attention to the resemblance of the letters in the inscriptions just named to the more simple of the capitals in St. Cuthberht's Gospels,¹ as also to the capitals of another MS. of the

¹ *Vide infra.*

same date at Durham,¹ on which Johannis is so used as the nominative case of the Evangelist's name, instead of Johannes.²

Some interesting relics of the Saint were found in his coffin when it was opened. Most of these are now in the library of Durham Cathedral. For the most part, if not altogether, the vestments, however, belong to a later time. The original ones were no doubt too humble and homely to suit the position after the shrine became very rich. Among the substituted pieces which still remain at Durham are some notable specimens of the needlework and embroidery of a later date, namely, the stole and maniple embroidered in the tenth century for Bishop Frithestan of Winchester, by Queen Ælfled (*sic*), as is proved by the embroidered inscription on them.³ There is also a robe of Saracenic or Persian origin with fine designs in Eastern taste, probably of still later times. Other remains, however, can claim a closer personal tie with the Saint himself. His episcopal ring, a plain one ornamented with a sapphire, was saved at the destruction of the priory. It afterwards fell into the hands of Thomas Watson, Dean of Durham, a devoted Roman Catholic, who was made Bishop of Lincoln in 1557. He presented it to Sir Thomas Hare, by whom it was given to Anthony Brown, Lord

¹ A, ii. 7. See Raine, *St. Cuthberht*, 192.

² Ib.

³ See Raine, *St. Cuthberht*, 205. A minute and excellent account of these embroideries has been published by Professor Baldwin Brown, and Mrs. A. H. Christie in the *Burlington Magazine*, vol. xxiii. pp. 6 and 67.



REMAINS OF ST. CUTHBERHT'S PORTABLE SILVER ALTAR.

[Vol. III., facing p. 98.]



ST. CUTHBERHT'S PENDANT JEWELLED CROSS.

Montacute. He gave it to Doctor Richard Smith, Roman Catholic Bishop of Chalcedon, who states these facts in his *Flores Historiarum*, p. 120. According to Alban Butler, he gave it to the Monastery of English Canonesses at Paris, who also preserved a tooth of the Saint.¹ In 1855 it was transferred to St. Cuthberht's College at Ushaw. There is a figure of it in the *Archæologia Æliana*, vi. 66–68.

Cuthberht's pectoral cross was also found in his coffin in 1826, and is preserved at Durham. It is of the shape known as a cross pattée. It was found among the remains of the robes, and was attached by a silken thread covered with gold. A cross, says Bishop Browne, with arms of the same type in the main motive, is figured in one of the magnificent pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels. The cross is of gold, with a large garnet in the centre, another in each angle, and twelve upon each of the branches. The loop by which it was suspended is of bright yellow gold. One of the arms had been broken long before and had been repaired with rivets. Some of the thread by which it was suspended was observed on the neck of the skeleton.

"I consider," says Raine, "the cross as a personal relic of the Saint, and it was adopted by the monks of Durham after 1083, or perhaps earlier, as is shown by the symbol on their seal of the priory, which is inscribed: The seal of Cudberht the holy Bishop." The matrix is still extant at Durham, and I have given a picture of it.

¹ Raine, *St. Cuthberht*, 174–176.

Another personal relic of the Saint, which is also preserved in a ruined and fragmentary state at Durham, is Cuthberht's portable altar. Bishop Browne has described and given a figure of it. He says it is 6 inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, and consists of a piece of oak one-third of an inch thick, covered all over with a silver plate. A considerable part of the silver has been lost on both sides. In all probability the tablet of wood had been used by itself before St. Cuthberht's time for the purpose of a portable altar, for it bears the inscription :

INHONOR . . . SPETRV
 

The letters are of a very early type, corresponding to those in the Lindisfarne Gospels. The N has its left member much longer than the other; the O is diamond shaped, and the S is like a Z turned round. The Petru must be the Greek genitive of Petros.

On the other side there is an inscription on the silver face in raised repoussé letters, beaten out from behind. It reads :

P . . . O S . . . S

that is, Petros Apostolos, or Paulos Apostolos. The inscription on the wood makes it practically certain it was Petros.

In the centre of what may be called the obverse side is an ornament in a circle. It consists of an equal-armed cross with a circular centre, and semi-

circular or horseshoe extremities to the arms. In the four angles formed by the arms are pretty patterns of Anglian interlacements of a continuous line.¹

Round the circle is an inscription which has been found difficult to read. It is part of a Greek phrase written in Latin letters. In this all agree. Mr. Raine, following that on Acca's altar,¹ has read it, "O HAGIA ET ERASTE" (O holy and beloved), and suggested the additional word Trinity or Wisdom or Mary. Bishop Browne objects that there is no question that the middle word is EC, the Greek preposition for "of" or "out of" or "from." He further thinks that Mr. Raine's G or S cannot be maintained. The curved lines like an S are only marks of division between words.² The mixed inscriptions and other features of the monument seem in any case to compel the conclusion that the maker of the altar was a Greek.

As we shall see, a similar altar was found on the breast of Bishop Acca when his tomb was opened about the year 1000.³

According to Bede, Cuthberht wrote a set of expositions entitled *Ordinationes suae ecclesiae*, and beginning *Prima regula est de Domino*. He also wrote *Praecepta vitae regularis*.⁴ This shows that in his time the Benedictine Rule had not yet become dominant in England as it became in later

¹ *Vide infra.*

² Bishop Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, 278.

³ See Raine, *op. cit.* 199–201.

⁴ Bale, *Scriptores Brit.*, i. 84; *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, i. 728.

times. In fact, it is probable that its use in England was at this time limited to St. Wilfrid's monasteries.

In his dying speech the Saint seems to allude to one of his tracts in his reference to a body of rules and regulations drawn up for the Church over which he presided. The book of the Gospels which he habitually used was expressly written for him by Eadfrid, who presently became the eighth Bishop of Lindisfarne, and it is known as the Lindisfarne Gospels. An account will be given of it later on under Eadfrid. It remained at Lindisfarne till the monks were driven out by the Danes, and then became the companion of the Saint's travels, and, as we have seen, fell into the sea in the Solway Firth and was afterwards recovered. It still bears evidence of its bath. Presently it was returned to Lindisfarne, where a colony of monks from Durham had settled in 1095 and had built the church of which so many interesting ruins exist. There it remained till the Dissolution, and subsequently fell into the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, apparently after it had been stripped of its rich covering. With his library it passed to the British Museum, and is now numbered "Nero D, iv." It lost its binding at the Reformation.¹

A copy of St. John's Gospel which was put on the lid of the inner coffin of St. Cuthberht, and was found there when it was opened in 1104, was not replaced, but remained in the church till the Reformation, when it fell into private hands and

¹ See Raine, 34, note.

became the property of one of the Earls of Lichfield, one of whom gave it to the Rev. T. Phillips, author of the *Life of Cardinal Pole*, who presented it to the College of Jesuits at Liège in the year 1769. When the college was suppressed some of its members brought it to England.¹ It is now at St. John's College at Stonyhurst. It is a very interesting volume, and there is good reason to believe it is the very book from which Cuthberht read to his master Bosil when the latter was dying.

The MS. is of small size, only $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and there are nineteen lines of text on each page. It was described by the Rev. John Milner in the sixteenth volume of the *Archæologia*. It bears the following inscription on the leaf opposite to the beginning of the Gospel: “*Evangelium Johannis quod inventum fuerat ad caput Beati Patris nostri Cuthberhti, in sepulchro jacens anno translationis ipsius.*” This gloss is in a very ancient handwriting. The characters of the writing of the book itself, says Westwood, bear intrinsic evidence of an antiquity as high as the age of St. Cuthberht, and it is written without chapters, verses, diphthongs, or points of any kind. The letters are all uncials or capitals, and for the most part Roman, but having the “N” often of the Anglo-Saxon form, with the oblique stroke arising very low upon the first perpendicular stroke.

Dr. Milner points out a number of variants in the text, which go to show that the version it

¹ Raine, p. 78, note.

followed was not that of the New Vulgate of Jerome, but of the Old Vulgate which preceded Jerome's alterations. It is noteworthy that it contains the story of the woman taken in adultery. The first word "In" in the book is alone written in red letters, and the passage "Fuit homo missus a Dō" commences with a capital "F" rather smaller than the initial "I." The name Johannes is spelt correctly.¹

Reginald of Durham tells a quaint story of this book. He says that in the time of Hugh, Bishop of Durham, William, Archbishop of York, visited the shrine of St. Cuthberht, and was shown the more precious treasures of the church; among others, was the most precious of all, the book of St. Cuthberht which the sacrist Benedict, who was dressed in his alb, carried suspended around his neck. The archbishop took it, opened and read it, and then hung it round the necks of his domestics and friends in turn. The sacrist had never seen the precious book opened before. It was kept in three bags, one enclosed within another, made of red leather.²

Another companion of Cuthberht's wanderings was the polished stone cross which Bishop Æthelwald, his friend, had designed.³ It was probably made in the fashion of the other crosses of the time, and ornamented with interlaced work. On it

¹ Westwood, *op. cit.*, "The Gospels of Saints Augustine and Cuthberht," 5 and 6.

² Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, ch. xci.

³ Sym. Dun., *Hist. Eccl. Dun.*, i. ch. xii.



SHAFT OF THE CROSS WHICH BISHOP BROWNE IDENTIFIES
AS THAT OF BISHOP AETHELWOLD.

[*Vol. III., facing p. 104.*

Æthelwald put his own name, but it had apparently been made in honour of St. Cuthberht. It was at Lindisfarne until the Danes came. They broke off its head, which was afterwards fastened to the body again with lead. In Symeon of Durham's day it was standing erect (*stans sublimis*) in the cemetery at Durham. We are told it accompanied Cuthberht's remains in their perambulations.¹ How an object of such weight could have been thus moved about is not easy to understand! Bishop Browne has suggested that this monument still exists in part in a beautiful shaft of a cross which was some years ago taken out of the wall of St. Oswald's Church at Durham. I have his permission to reproduce this shaft, of which he says there is no reason of date or style why it should not be as tradition makes it, the shaft of Æthelwald's cross.²

¹ *Hist. Eccl. Dun.*, i. ch. xii. Leland says it was still there in his day (*Coll.*, i. 370).

² See Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, 209, 293.

CHAPTER XII

ST. CUTHBERHT'S CONTEMPORARIES, FRIENDS, AND PUPILS

HOWEVER exemplary a saint Cuthberht was, he was a very unsatisfactory, not to say ridiculous, bishop, and we cannot realise how his diocese was managed at all while he hid away in his anchorite's cell and refused to see any one save through a peep-hole. On his death St. Wilfrid took charge of the see for twelve months until a fitting occupant could be found for it. As we have seen, Wilfrid's stricter discipline and more rigid adherence to Roman ways caused much heart-burning among the monks there. A suitable successor was presently found in a certain Eadberht,¹ who was doubtless a monk of the monastery. Bede describes him as a man renowned for his knowledge of the Scriptures and for his observance of the divine precepts and almsgiving. He every year gave a tithe not only of his four-footed beasts, but even, says Bede, of all corn and fruits, and also gave clothes to the poor.² He tells us further that he took off the thatch from the oaken church built by St. Aidan at Lindisfarne,

¹ Bede, *H.E.*, iv. 27 [29].
106

² *Ib.*

and covered not only the roof but also the walls with lead.¹ As we have seen, he consented to the translation of St. Cuthberht's body, which he ordered the monks to carry out on the anniversary of his deposition, 20th March 698.²

Bede tells us that Eadberht used in Lent and during the forty days before Christmas to retire to a place encompassed by the ocean (*i.e.* some island other than Farne), where he indulged in various austerities. He was absent on one of these retreats when the translation of Bede's remains took place, and when the monks took him a portion of the Saint's garments he kissed them as if they had still been on the latter's body. He then bade them deposit the remains in the new coffin they had prepared and in its new garments. "I am very certain," he added, "that its old resting-place will not long remain empty, having been sanctified by so many miracles of heavenly grace." He added that the man would indeed be happy to whom the Lord should grant the privilege of lying in the same spot. He fell ill and died on the 6th of May 698, after having been bishop for ten years, and they buried him in the grave where Cuthberht had once been, and placed the latter's new coffin with that Saint's body in it on a stand over the old grave. "The miracles of healing sometimes wrought in that place testified," we are told, "to the merits of both."³

Alcuin, in his poem, "de Clade Lindisf.

¹ Bede, *H.E.*, iii. 25.

² *Ib.* iv. 28 [30].

³ *Ib.*

Monast.,” vv. 169 and 170, attributes a miracle to him not mentioned by Bede.¹

“Compositus precibus Eadberht minitantia mortem
Flabra, pius praesul vester et ipse pater.”

He has a place in the Calendar on May the 8th.

His relics shared the fate of those of St. Cuthberht, and some of them were placed in his coffin and were found in it when it was opened in 1827.² A life of him in Anglo-Saxon which, according to Hardy, is entirely taken from Bede, is extant in two eleventh-century MSS.³

He was succeeded by Eadfrid, who became a priest at the age of thirty, spent the rest of his life in writing books, and was greatly devoted to St. Cuthberht. In regard to this, Symeon's words are : “*Multum fervens amore.*” The author of the anonymous life of Cuthberht dedicated it to Eadfrid and to “the family” at Lindisfarne, at whose instance he said he had written it. His fame rests very largely on his having been the scribe of the most interesting and beautiful of all early illuminated MSS., namely, the so-called Lindisfarne Gospels. This famous book was described in the inventories of the House at Durham as “*Liber S. Cuthberti qui demersus est in mare,*” referring to the bath it had had in the sea.⁴ At the Dissolution it passed into the hands of Robert Bowyer, Clerk of the Parliaments in the reign of James I., from whom it was acquired by

¹ See also Plummer, ii. 271.

² Raine, *Cuthberht*, 79 ; *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, ii. 3.

³ Hardy, *Catalogue*, i. 365.

⁴ *Ante*, p. 102.

+ Aldfrid biscopl Lindisfarne*ri* acclerice
he byr buc ayuat dep ryma gode yrce
cyd bensite*y* allum ðc*m* hægym
† Aldfrid. oedilwald. bill frid. alfrid
hoc evartt do ryððenit comtryxerit;
et ornarevit;

⁷ untynde mad his

Cooperieis o*s* suum
^{te lande} hea ^{cauef}
ooceoc*cc* eos voiceis
^{audio} ^{intona} ^{dictando} ^{organis}
Beatⁱ p*cc*uperess spou
^{pedon} ^{hione}
quoniam ip*so*rumet
^{me} heofna

Regnum acclororum **d**if^fgnn^r x^r r^r zeg^r ey^r bl^r h^r
^{um.}
^{rrac} ^{artem.}

SPECIMEN OF AN INITIAL LETTER OF PART OF THE GOSPEL TEXT, WITH AN INTERLINEAR GLOSS AND A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE PASSAGE GIVING THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE LINDISFARNE MS.

Sir Robert Cotton, and is now labelled "Nero D, iv." among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. The text of these Gospels with their invaluable Northumbrian glosses has been edited for the Surtees Society by Stevenson and Waring, while a more exact rendering was brought out by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press and edited by Kemble and Hardwick, and since their deaths by Skeat. The glosses have been printed by Karl Bouterwek.¹

The origin and earlier history of the volume are told in a gloss it contains written in the tenth century, and in the Northumbrian dialect, by the scribe Aldred, who in it styles himself the son of Alfred and Tilwin, and who was not improbably, as Dr. O'Conor urged in his *Catalogue of the Stowe MSS.*, the same Aldred who was Bishop of Chester-le-Street from 957 to 968.²

The paragraph in question is not quite clear in meaning, is written in the vernacular, and contains occasional Latin words. It was thus translated by Professor Skeat :³—

"Eadfrid, Bishop of the Lindisfarne Church, at the first wrote this book in honour of God and Saint Cuðberht and all the saints in common that are in the island. And Eðilwald, Bishop of the people of the Lindisfarne Island, made it firm on the outside and covered it as well as he could, and Billfrið the

¹ *Die vier Evangelien in altnordhumbrischer Sprache*, 800, 1857; *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, ii. 7.

² *Op. cit.* ii. 180.

³ *The Gospel according to Saint John in Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions*, 1878, p. viii.

Anchorite (*se oncre,*) wrought in smith's work the ornaments that are on the outside and adorned it with gold and also with gems, and overlaid it with silver, a treasure without deceit (*faconleas feh,* i.e. with unalloyed metal), and Aldred, an unworthy and most miserable priest, with the help of God and Saint Cuðberht overglossed it (*hit ofergloesade*) in English (*on englisc*) and made himself at home (*gihamadi*) with the three parts—Matthew's part, for the honour of God and St. Cuðberht, Mark's part for the Bishop, and Luke's part for the brotherhood,—together with eight oras of silver for his own admission,—and Saint John's part for himself, together with four oras of silver [deposited] with God and Saint Cuðberht, to the end that he might gain admittance into heaven through God's mercy, and on earth happiness and peace, promotion and dignity, wisdom and prudence, through Saint Cuðberht's merits.

“Eadfrid, Æðiluald, Billfrid, and Aldred made and adorned this Gospel book in honour of God and Saint Cuðberht.”

There is no reason to doubt the tradition in the Abbey thus preserved by Aldred as to the origin of the book, which was their greatest treasure.

Sir E. M. Thompson (who has discussed the authorship of the glosses, some of which are written in red ink and some in black, with certain variants in orthography) attributes them all to this same Aldred.¹ The text, he says, was written by

¹ *Cat. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, ii. Latin, 16 and 17.

Bishop Eadfrid, who held the see from 698 to 721. It was doubtless written before he became Bishop, since it would seem to have been put together in honour of St. Cuthberht, who died in 687.

The fame and importance of the MS. necessitate a somewhat detailed description of it, since it is by far the most important artistic monument associated with St. Cuthberht and his companions. Westwood, in describing it, says : " This noble MS., the glory of the Cottonian Library, and the most elaborately ornamented of all the Anglo-Saxon MSS., consists of 258 leaves of thick vellum, measuring $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and containing the four Gospels written in double columns, according to Jerome's version, with an interlineary Anglo-Saxon gloss. The text of the Gospels is preceded by the Epistle of St. Jerome to Damasus, Jerome's own preface, the Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus, the Eusebian Canon, the arguments of each Gospel, and the *capitula* of the Lessons to be read on different festivals. The Ammonian sections and references to the canons are noted in the margin."

Sir Edward Thompson points out that the arrangement of the chapters of all four Gospels corresponds with that in the well-known *Codex Amiatinus*, which I have discussed in an appendix, and I see no reason to doubt that the text was, in fact, taken from that most famous of Abbot Ceolfrid's MSS.

In describing the writing, the same great authority says the text is written stichometrically

in very beautifully formed half-uncial letters of a massive type, with occasional use of capitals, the words being generally separated. Each Gospel is divided into sections for Lessons, each one beginning with an ornamental initial letter and numbered in red. The subdivisions of Ammonian sections are marked by smaller initial letters, as well as by the marginal reference numbers.

The titles of the Gospels and generally those of the prefaces, etc., are in red half-uncial letters like the text. Each Gospel also has with the title similar letters in gold the names of the symbols : \mathbb{P} , IHS, XPS, "Mathaeus homo," "Marcus leo," " \mathbb{F} Lucas vitulus," " \mathbb{X} Johannis (*sic*) aquila." The colophons and some of the titles are in large and fanciful slender capitals, red and black. The titles and colophons of the Eusebian tables are also in the same fanciful capitals.¹

Westwood gives us more details. He says : "The text of the Gospels is continued throughout, without any illuminated capitals to the several divisions, the first letter of each verse rather larger than the text, and coloured with patches of red, green, etc. The letters of the Latin text are quite similar to, but smaller than, those of the Book of Kells, the Gospels of St. Chad, of Mac Regol, etc. ; the 'd' is either uncial or minuscule, the 'f, p, q' with short tails below the lines ; the 'r' either capital or shaped like 'n' ; the 's' also either capital or like 'f,' the top elevated above the line.

¹ Thompson, *op. cit.* 15.

Lucas vitulus.

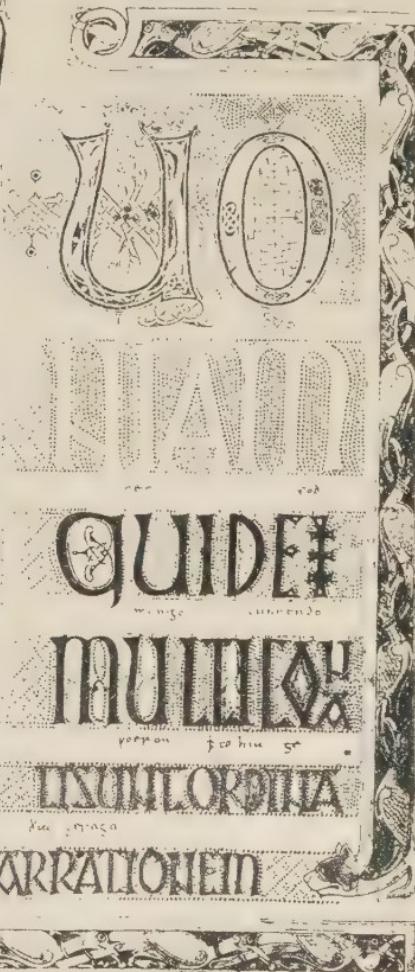
on gennet sed pell

incipit euangelium

secundum lucum

f. ex. lom

lucay



ORNAMENTAL INITIAL LETTER OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL IN THE
LINDISFARNE MS.

The letters at the end of the lines are often singularly conjoined for want of space."¹ The whole or part of the first word in each of the various capitals in the volume is formed of ornamental letters. The first page of each Gospel (and in St. Matthew, also of the "Liber generationis") and of the first preface of St. Jerome, is in large letters of most elaborate patterns, with borders, etc.²

On the subject of the illustrations I find myself differing from those who have written on the book.

It seems to me quite plain that these ornamental letters and the illuminations generally were the handiwork of more than one artist, and consist of three quite different types of ornament. One of these classes, constituting the great portion of the book, is of unmistakably Irish work, and must, it seems to me, have been designed and painted by an Irish artist. They are precisely of the type and technique of the illuminations contained in well-known Irish MSS. Is it impossible that a famous Irish artist named Ultan, mentioned as a well-known illuminator³ by Æthelwulf in his poem on the abbots, was the painter of these wonderful Irish pictures?

"The large initial letters are of gigantic dimensions and most elegantly ornamented with a combination of geometrical patterns, interlaced ribbons, spiral lines, and intertwined lacertine

¹ Westwood, *Pal. Bibl.*, 163.

² Thompson, *op. cit.* 15.

³ *Vide infra*, p. 133.

animals, birds and beasts with necks, legs, and bodies knitted and woven together, while the most perfect harmony and accuracy of detail are maintained.

"The pigments are brilliant and generally light in tint, and are for the most part thickly laid on. This gives the patterns the appearance of enamel, an effect which is generally enhanced by filling in the interstices with black. Gold is used in one or two places, but only as minute spots or to fill small triangles.

"Many of the fanciful letters and the initial letters of sections are filled with patches of colour, and are edged with or laid upon a background of red dots, which are often arranged in patterns."¹

"The initial letter 'N' of the Epistle of St. Jerome has the first stroke elongated down the left margin of the page, and the connecting stroke is composed of two large spiral ornaments. The initial of the 'Liber generationis' is large and of the rounded form; the 'i' formed into a long 'j,' crossing the lower part of the 'l,' and the 'b' also large and of the rounded form (as in the Gospels of the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, published by Silvestre, etc.), and the initial letters of the two other Gospels, 'INI' (*Initium*) and 'IN P' (*In Principio*), are conjoined together as in most of the early Anglo-Saxon and Irish Codices, the first stroke being nearly 11 inches long.

"The wonderful precision and delicacy of touch

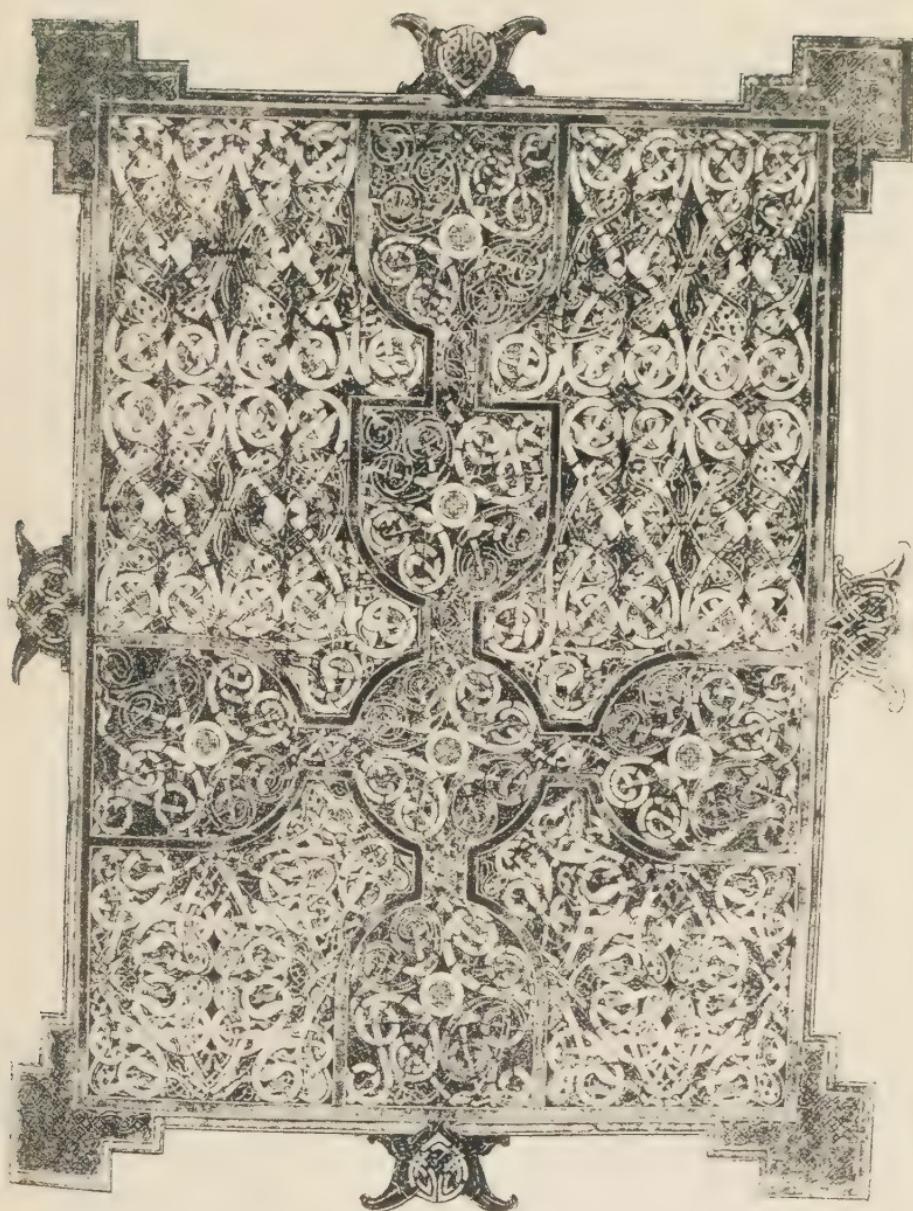
¹ Thompson, *op. cit.* 16.

exhibited in the ornamental patterns of which these three initials are composed have justly attracted the admiration of every writer on the subject. It is difficult to imagine what were the instruments of the caligrapher, so perfectly regular and free from error is the drawing, even in the most complicated parts of the patterns ; indeed, from the appearance of the reverse of the leaves, it seems evident that a very hard instrument has been used." Westwood suggests that it could only have been executed by means of cut tools or blocks. The other letters in these ornamental pages vary from half an inch to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in height ; they are greatly diversified in form, scarcely any two being alike, many of them the result of the fancy of the caligrapher, "others," says Westwood, "obtained from other sources than the Roman alphabet. The pure Greek letters found in this and other contemporary MSS. are to be accounted for from the intercourse between the Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Greek Christians. The capital 'M' also, singularly formed, as it mostly is, of three perpendicular strokes united across the middle with one horizontal bar, or occasionally with two bars, is not to be found in any Roman inscription."

"The Eusebian Canons are inscribed within highly ornamented columns supporting rounded arches of beautiful execution, except the first words of the prefaces, arguments, and *capitula* of each of the Gospels, which are written in letters of larger size and ornamented like the title-pages."

Let us now turn to another class of designs. These include, beside the illuminated title-pages, the initial page of each of five divisions of the volume. They are completely covered with coloured tessellated patterns of the utmost intricacy, generally disposed so as to form a cruciform design in the centre of the page. This elaborately beautiful feature is entirely peculiar to the MSS. executed in Ireland or by the Irish scholars, and in its neatness, precision, and delicacy far surpasses the productions of contemporary artists on the Continent. The style and design point, however, to another hand than the author of the paintings last described.

A third artist was probably a foreigner, or some Englishman who had learnt from a foreigner. His are the likenesses of the Evangelists, each accompanied by his respective symbol. They each occupy a page at the head of the several Gospels, and are executed in a style of art quite unlike that of the Irish or early Anglo-Saxon school, and bearing evident traces of Byzantine origin, not only in its composition but also in the Greek words inscribed (in Roman capitals)—“O Agios Matthaeus,” instead of the Latin “Sanctus Matthaus,” and which in the picture of St. Mark is written “O Agius (*sic*) Marcus,” with a Latin termination. Waagen says of the designs: “They are, notwithstanding, very different from the contemporary Byzantine and Italian paintings, as well as from those of the monarchy of the Franks of the eighth and ninth



INITIAL PAGE OF ONE OF THE FIVE DIVISIONS OF THE
LINDISFARNE MS.

[Vol. III., facing p. 116.]

centuries, for in all these the character of ancient art, in which the four Evangelists were originally represented, is very clearly retained in the design and treatment; these paintings, on the contrary, have a very barbarous appearance, but are executed in their way with the greatest mechanical skill. Nothing remains of the Byzantine models but the attitudes, the fashion of the dress, and the form of the seats. Instead of the broad antique execution with the pencil, in water colours, in which the shadows, lights, and middle tints were given, all the outlines here are very delicately traced with the pen and only the local colours put on, so that the shadows are entirely wanting, with the exception of the sockets of the eyes and along the nose. The faces are quite inanimate, like a piece of calligraphy; the folds of the drapery are marked with a very different local colour from that of the drapery itself; thus, for instance, in the green mantle of St. Matthew they are vermilion. Besides this, there is no meaning except in the principal folds of the garments; in the smaller ones the strokes are quite arbitrary and mechanical. Among the colours, which are often laid on very thick, only the red and blue are, properly speaking, opaque, but all of them are as brilliant as if the paintings had been finished only yesterday. Gold, on the contrary, is used in very small portions."¹

It is most unlikely that these last pictures with

¹ Waagen's *Art and Artists in England*, i. 137; Westwood's *Palæographia Sacra*, 162-164.

their inspiration should have been painted by the Irish scribes, who almost certainly illuminated the rest of the volume.

In regard to the covers of the volume, there is some ambiguity. "Aldred, as we have seen, says that Oiðilwald, Bishop of the people of the Lindisfarne Island" (*i.e.* Eadfrid's successor), made it (*i.e.* the book) firm on the outside and covered it as well as he could, and Billfrid the anchorite wrought in smith's work the ornaments that are on the outside, and adorned it with gold and also with gems overlaid with silver, a treasure without deceit (*i.e.* made of unalloyed metal).¹ Symeon of Durham says that Eadfrid's successor, "the venerable Ethelwold" (*sic*) ordered it to be ornamented with gold and decked with gems, and that the work was carried out by Billfrid the anchorite.² Who was he?

Stubbs says that Billfrid is made a contemporary of St. Balthere.³ Some of the relics of Balthere and Billfrid were put in St. Cuthberht's coffin.⁴ Billfrid is no doubt the "Bilfrith presbyter" mentioned among the anchorites in the *Liber Vitae* at Durham, which also mentions a "Balthere presbyter." Symeon of Durham tells us he lived the life of an anchorite at Tiningham and died in 757.⁵ Balthere is probably the same as Baldred in Bishop Forbes' *Kalendars of the Scottish Church*, 273 and 274. He says that his church at Tiningham had the

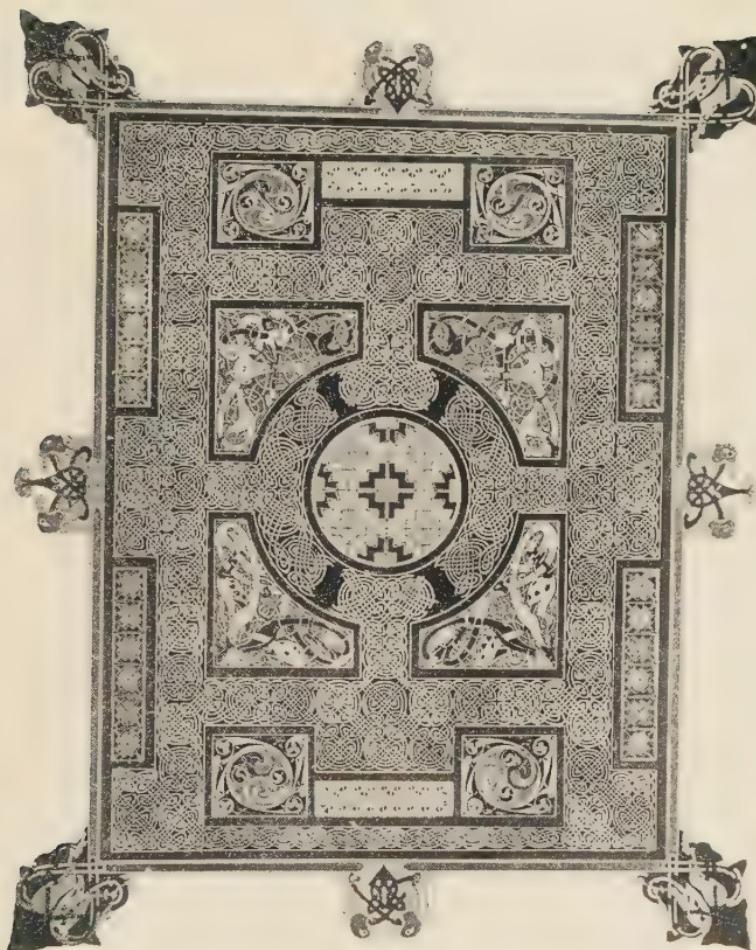
¹ Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 16.

² Symeon of Durham, *H.D.E.*, ii. 12.

³ *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, i. 318.

⁴ Raine, *St. Cuthberht*, 79, note.

⁵ *Op. cit.* ii, ch. 2.



A SIMILAR PAGE FROM THE LINDISFARNE MS.

[Vol. III., facing p. 118.]

right of sanctuary, and that at Prestoune Kirk (*sic*) some places near the church are still known as St. Baldred's well and Baldred's whill (a pool or eddy in the river). A rock which impeded the navigation is said to have moved to the shore at his bidding. It is still called the *toursha* or *scapha* of St. Baldred. His cave is also shown on the coast near Aldhame.¹ "Both tradition and the existence of a ruin on the Bass Rock," adds Forbes, "testify to the former habitation of an island saint, who, known as Baldred or Balthere, was honoured in Scotland on the 6th of March. The legend in the Aberdeen Breviary is to that effect."² Alcuin has a long notice of him in his poem *de Pontificis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, in which he speaks of his living on the wild coast of Northumbria—

"Inter monstra maris, scopulosas inter et undas,
Ut possit portum portans attingere tutum
Est locus undoso circumdatus undique ponto,
Rupibus horrendis, praerupto et margine septus"—

battling with the hosts of fiends. He tells us how he rescued a soul from them, and was also wont to walk upon the sea like St. Peter.³ Symeon of Durham gives his date in the calendar as 756.⁴

Let us now return to Eadfrid's career. Bede dedicated his prose *Life of St. Cuthberht* to him in the words: "To the holy and most blessed father

¹ Forbes, *op. cit.* 273.

² *Ib.*

³ Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, p. 388.

⁴ *Hist. Reg.*, ch. 42.

Eadfrid, Bishop, and to all the Congregation of the Brethren who serve Christ in the Island of Lindisfarne : Bæda, your faithful fellow-servant, sendeth greeting." In acknowledgment of his having written this work at their bidding, the monks of Lindisfarne promised that he should be duly remembered in their prayers. He died in 721,¹ and some of his relics were preserved in St. Cuthberht's coffin.²

Symeon of Durham tells us that he rebuilt the oratory at Farne where Cuthberht had lived his solitary life. Cuthberht had been succeeded as hermit there by Ethelwald. Bede calls him Oidilwald in his history, and Ædilwald in his biography of St. Cuthberht. He had lived some years at Ripon and presently received the priesthood there, where Cuthberht was doubtless his companion. Bede reports a story about him which he had heard from Gudfrid, afterwards abbot of the monastery at Lindisfarne. "On one occasion," he says, "he had visited the island with two of the brethren to hear 'the Reverend Father Oidilwald.' On their return to the mainland they were overtaken by a storm, and there seemed no hope of escape. On looking behind them they saw the hermit on the island praying for them. The storm thereupon abated until they had reached the land and dragged the boat ashore, when it returned again."³ In his *Life of St. Cuthberht*, Bede states that after many years of monastic life Oidilwald

¹ Florence of Worcester, *M.H.B.*, 541.

² Raine's *Cuthberht*, 60, 79.

³ *H.E.*, v. i.

had been found worthy "to ascend to the dignity of a hermit's profession." Cuthberht's oratory had gone to decay, and the planks of which it had been built had been riven asunder. His successor stopped up the chinks with straw or clay lest he should be hindered from his devotions by the fierceness of the weather, and he further nailed up a calf's hide in that corner where he and St. Cuthberht were often wont to pray.¹ He remained on the island for twelve years and died there in 699, but was buried in the church at Lindisfarne. His feast-day, according to Raine, was 23rd March, but his biography is entered in the *Acta Sanctorum* on 3rd March.² "Oidilwald presbyter" heads the list of hermits in the *Liber Vitae*. Some of his bones and hair were found in St. Cuthberht's coffin.³

He was succeeded as Hermit of Farne by Felgild above named. For him Bishop Eadfrid put the oratory into thorough repair from its foundations. Felgild made a relic of the calf's skin previously named, and cut it up into small pieces to give away to the unfortunates who were ill. He is said to have first tested it on himself, and having soaked a piece of it, he washed his face with the water, and thus cured a red tumour which had troubled him for a long time and had latterly by neglect become much worse. Bede claims to have heard this from a devout priest at Jarrow whom he knew, who had been allowed to feel the hermit's

¹ *Op. cit.* chap. xlvi.

² *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, ii. 228-9.

³ Raine, *Cuthberht*, 79, note.

face through his little window and thus to testify to the cure. He tells us Felgild was over seventy years of age when he himself wrote Cuthberht's life.¹

Eadfrid was succeeded as Bishop at Lindisfarne by Athelwald or *Æðilwald*, who had been a servant (*minister*) of St. Cuthberht,² and had become *praepositus* or prior of the Abbey of Melrose, which office he filled when the anonymous Life of Cuthberht was written. At the time Bede wrote his prose Life he had become abbot,³ and still filled that office when King Aldfrid visited the monastery to hear Dryhthelm's visions.⁴

There is some difficulty about the date of his succession to the see; it is generally put in 724, but in that case it must have been vacant for three years after the death of Eadfrid, who died in 721. Mr. Plummer seems to me to be right in making him succeed on the death of his predecessor in 721.⁵ As we have seen, he caused a beautiful stone cross to be erected in memory of St. Cuthberht with his own name upon it at Lindisfarne,⁶ and, as we have also seen, he also caused a cover of gold and jewels to be made for the Lindisfarne Gospels, which is no longer in existence; it had been removed before the book came into Sir Robert Cotton's collection.⁷

Among Aldhelm's letters there is one addressed to him by a certain *Æthelwald*,⁸ who some have

¹ Bede, *Vit. St. Cuth.*, xlvi.

³ *Vit. Anon.*, par. 23.

² The book is dedicated to Bishop Eadfrid.

⁴ Bede, *H.E.*, v. 12.

⁵ *Op. cit.* ii. 297.

⁶ *Vide ante*, iii. p. 104.

⁷ *Sym. of Durh.*, i. chap. xii.

⁸ *Vide ante*, ii. p. 458.

thought was our Bishop. His remains were carried about with those of St. Cuthberht, and were eventually placed in his shrine.¹ He was remembered among the saints, his day being 12th February.² His episcopate, according to Symeon, lasted for sixteen years. If this be correct, his death must have occurred in 737 or 741, according as we fix his consecration in 721 or 724, on which critical matter, as we have seen, there is a difference between the authorities. Symeon of Durham puts it in 740, William of Malmesbury in 738, and Florence of Worcester in 739. It would appear that in Eadfrid's time the abbacy and bishopric of Lindisfarne had ceased to be held by the same person, for Bede tells us that "Gudfrid, a venerable servant and priest of Christ," who presided over the brethren at Lindisfarne, where he was educated, told him a story about Farne which he repeats.³

We will now devote some paragraphs to Dryhthelm and his famous visions.

Bede says of him⁴ that he was the head of a family (*pater-familias*), living in a district of the Northumbrians which is called Incunengingum (doubtless Cunningham, situated in the south of Scotland, where the Abbey of Melrose had possessions at a later time⁵), and that he and his household led a religious life. Having fallen sick, he grew worse and worse and presently died at night-

¹ Raine's *Cuthberht*, 79.

² *H.E.*, ed. Smith, p. 197, note 30.

³ Bede, *H.E.*, v. i.

⁴ *Ib.* v. 12.

⁵ See *Acta Sanctorum*, 2nd February, 604, 606, and 897; *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, ii. 230. See *Liber de Melrose*, i. 72-74.

fall, but early in the morning he came to life again and suddenly sat up, on which those who had sat by him weeping, fled in terror, only his wife remaining, although in great fear. He bade her be comforted, for he had now risen again from the death which had held him, and had been permitted to live again among men, but his subsequent life was to be very different from his former one. He presently rose and repaired to the oratory of the little township where he lived (*ad villulae oratorium*, which the Saxon translation reads "*to ðaere ciricean þaes tunes*") and continued to pray till daylight, when he proceeded to divide his possessions into three parts, one for his wife, a second for his children, and a third to be distributed among the poor. He then went to Melrose, the eldest daughter of Lindisfarne (and at that time probably under the same abbot), where he adopted the tonsure and repaired to "a secret dwelling," and there lived to the end of his days in a state of great contrition. He reported to those who sought him what he had seen while out of the body.

He was silently conducted, he said, by one with a shining countenance and a bright garment. As he judged, they went to the north coast until they came to a valley of great breadth and depth and of infinite length. On one side of this were dreadful flames, and on the other intolerable snow and hail, which were flying and drifting about. Both places were full of men's souls, which were tossed from one side to the other by

the violence of the storm, thus alternating between scorching heat and biting cold without intermission. Dryhthelm thought this must be hell, but was told it was not so. When they reached the farther end of the valley it began to grow dusk and to be filled with darkness, and it presently became so thick that he could see nothing save the shape and garments of him that led him. As they went on through the shades of night there suddenly appeared frequent globes of black flame, rising as it were out of a great pit and falling back again into the same. There he was left alone by his conductor, who vanished while the black balls of fire flew hither and thither, and he noticed that the tops of the flames were filled with human souls which, like sparks in smoke, were sometimes thrown up on high and presently dropped down again, while an insufferable stench pervaded the place.

After standing there a long time much disturbed, he heard behind him the voice of a most hideous lamentation and of loud laughing, as of a rude multitude insulting captured enemies, and as it came nearer to him he saw a crowd of evil spirits dragging the wailing and lamenting souls of five human beings into the midst of the darkness. While the devils laughed, their victims wept. One was shorn like a clerk, another was a layman, and a third a woman. The evil spirits dragged them down into the midst of that burning pit, and as they went deeper he could not distinguish between the lamentation of the men and the laughing of the

devils—only a confused sound reached his ears. Presently some of the dark spirits from the flaming abyss rushed at him on all sides, and much distressed him with their glaring eyes and the stinking fire proceeding from their mouths and nostrils. They threatened to lay hold of him with burning tongs, which they held in their hands, yet they dared not touch him.

Looking around for assistance in this blinding darkness where he was surrounded by enemies, there appeared behind him a star shining amidst the gloom, which came rapidly towards him, growing brighter by degrees, whereupon all the evil creatures with their pincers dispersed. The bright light proved to be his guide, who then proceeded to take him, as it were, to the south-east, and conducted him out of the darkness into an atmosphere of clear light. He then saw a huge wall before him of boundless length and height, in which there was no door or window or stair. But as soon as they reached the wall they were, as it were, lifted to the top of it. Within was a vast and delightful field, so full of fragrant flowers that its odour at once dispersed the dreadful stench that had pervaded the dark furnaces. . . . The light of the place was greater than that of day or of the sun at meridian height. In this field were innumerable assemblies dressed in white, and many companies seated and rejoicing. Dryhthelm thought this must be heaven, but his conductor said it was not so.

Having passed these mansions of blessed spirits he saw a much more beautiful light, and also heard most sweet voices of people singing, and a fragrance far exceeding that he had noted before. As he was hoping they might go in there, his guide stopped and then turned round and led him back again by the way they had come.

His conductor then explained what it all meant. The valley with its two flanks of burning heat and freezing cold was the place where souls were tried and punished who had failed to confess and amend the crimes they had committed, and had postponed repentance till the point of death, and thus departed from the body. Those who, even at death's door, confessed and repented, would all reach heaven at the Day of Judgment, but many would be relieved even before then by the prayers, alms, and fasting of the living, and more especially by the celebrating of Masses. The dark and stinking pit, on the contrary, was the mouth of hell itself, from which whosoever fell would never be delivered throughout eternity. Similarly, the flowery meadow he had seen was the place where those were put who had done good works in the world, but not sufficient to entitle them to heaven. Eventually, however, they would come thither, and at the Day of Judgment they would see Christ and enter into the joys of His kingdom; while those who were perfect in every deed, word, and thought would go immediately to that place of effulgent light and sweet singing he had seen.

"As for you," he said, "who are returning to live among men, you also, if you study to direct your speech and behaviour in righteousness, shall after death have a residence among these joyful troops of blessed souls. When I left you for awhile, it was to ascertain what was to be your fate."

Dryhthelm tells us he was not at all anxious to leave that delightful place, but he dared not ask his guide any more questions, and on a sudden, he knew not how, he found himself again alive among men.¹ In this translation I have almost entirely followed the Rev. J. Stevenson, which I could not improve upon.

Such was the story which Dryhthelm told, and which he no doubt believed. Bede says he did not tell his story to everybody, but only to those who might profit from it. Such tales, as we have seen, were the ready products of the excessive asceticism of the anchorites, which produced a wild imagination and fantastic dreams.

Near Dryhthelm's cell lived a monk named Haemgils, eminent for his good works. "He is still living² a solitary life," says Bede, "in the island of Ireland, supporting his declining age with coarse bread and cold water." It was from him that the latter heard the story, as told by Dryhthelm himself. Haemgils is commemorated among the hermits in the *Liber Vitae*.

Dryhthelm also reported his vision to the saintly

¹ Bede, *H.E.*, v. 12.

² i.e. in 731.

scholar, King Aldfrid, and it was at his request that he entered the monastery of Melrose and adopted the tonsure. At that time *Æðilwald* or Ethelwald, who afterwards became bishop of Lindisfarne, was abbot there.

Dryhthelm was assigned a secluded place near the monastery where he might indulge in continual prayer. This was near the river, into which he used often to go down and completely submerge himself, remaining there as long as he could endure, and meanwhile saying prayers. He sometimes remained in the water up to his waist or his neck, and when he came out he did not take off his cold or frozen garments till they grew warm and dried on his body. When in the winter those who beheld the broken pieces of ice floating about, which he had made when he took "his dip," would say, "It is wonderful, Brother Dryhthelm, that you are able to bear such violent cold." He merely answered, for he was a man of *but simple and indifferent wits*, "I have been still colder." Thus, says Bede, he continued to subdue his aged body with daily fasting till he was called away.¹ MSS. D and E of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* put Dryhthelm's vision in 693. The *Annales Xantenses*,² which contain some English entries, put it in 671; this, says Plummer, is too early. Roger of Wendover dates it in 699.³ It must have been some little time before the death of Aldfrid (705), as the latter used

¹ *H.E.*, chap. xii.

² Pertz, ii. 220.

³ Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 294.

to go very often (*saepeissime*) to hear Dryhthelm at Melrose.

Ælfric wrote an Anglo-Saxon homily on Dryhthelm.¹ Alcuin also wrote some lines in which he versified part of the story of his vision. Here is a sample of them :—

“Tunc mihi post tergum fulsit quasi stella per umbras,
Quae magis accrescens properansque fugaverat hostes
Dux erat ille meus veniens cum luce repente;
Cujus in adventu daemones alvi.”²

His name is mentioned among those of the anchorites in the *Liber Vitæ* of Durham.

Plummer³ has an interesting note on this type of vision, in which the principal feature is the existence of a place of torment of freezing cold as well as one of scorching heat. Bede himself accepted this view ; thus he writes :—

“Ignibus aeternae nigris loca plena gehennæ,
Frigora mixta simul ferventibis algida flammis.

.
Non sentitur ibi quidquam nisi frigora, flammae
Foetor et ingenti complet putredine nares.”⁴

In another place Bede traces the notion to the passage in Luke, where he says, “there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth,” and glossed it thus: “The weeping comes from the heat, and the gnashing of teeth from the cold, thus proving a double hell (*gehenna*), one of great heat and the

¹ Ed. Thorpe, ii. 348.

² “Carmen de Pont.,” *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, vv. 953-955.

³ Bede, *Opp.*, i. pp. 101-102. Plummer, ii. 296.

⁴ Bede, *de Die Judicii*, *Opera*, i. 101-102.

other of great cold."¹ In one of Wulfstan's homilies² we read: "There sometimes eyes weep immoderately by reason of the heat of the furnace, sometimes teeth chatter from the cold."

Plummer notes how Claudio, in *Measure for Measure*, iii. 1, says:—

"To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice."

We will now turn to a small corner of our subject which receives no illumination from Bede, and was overlooked by him. Lindisfarne had several cells or subordinate houses in addition to Melrose: St. Balthere's or Baldred's at Tiningham, Cununga-ceastre or Chester-le-Street, Norham, Gainsford, and Craike (near York). Craike is described as a village on a commanding outlier of the Wolds, which towers above the country formerly occupied by the forest of Galtres. Mr. Thomas Arnold has given some good reasons for treating it as the abbey apostrophised by Æthelwulf in his interesting poem "de Abbatibus," which was dedicated to Bishop Ecgberht (802-829). It is not quite certain, however. In that poem he tells us that when King Ecgfrid was killed by the Picts, his son Aldfrid succeeded him, and was in turn succeeded by his son Osred. His turbulent and dissipated life I have previously described. Among his evil deeds, he killed some of his great nobles and

¹ Bede on Luke xiii. 28.

² *Vide* ed. Napier, 138.

drove others into monasteries.¹ One of them, says Æthelwulf, was Eanmund, who abandoned the world and adopted a religious life, and with some other nobles entered a monastery. We are told in the anonymous *History of St. Cuthberht* that King Ecgfrid gave the latter the hill and three miles round it at Craike, that he might have a residence "mansio" to stop at when he went to York or returned from it.² There apparently Eanmund built a monastery for himself and his friends. This was during the episcopate of Bishop Eadfrid, (*i.e.* 698–721). The bishop gave him pious instructions and assigned a teacher to the community. Eanmund now sent to St. Ecgberht, the famous missionary who, as we have seen, converted the Columban Church to orthodoxy, asking him to consecrate an altar for his monks; he refers to the altar as the sacred table of God (*mensa sacrata Dei*). Ecgberht sent him a kindly message, and told him that he had seen in a vision a certain hill on which Eanmund was to build a chapel. The latter thereupon proceeded to build it and to cover it with lead—

"Exterius tabulas perfundens tegmine plumbi"—
and in it was duly placed the altar. The bishop now wrote him another letter, in which he contrasts the days when robbers occupied the hill, with the better times in which they were then living. Æthelwulf in his poem describes the life of the

¹ *Symeon of Durham*, ed. Arnold, i. p. 268.

² *Op. cit.* xxxvii.

monks there as marked by fervour and zeal, and speaks of its parti-coloured statue of the Virgin, with its white vesture.¹

He also refers to one of Eanmund's pupils, a Scot, named Ultan, who was a priest and skilled in illuminating books.² He was also a zealous teacher and lived to be an old man. Mr. Gammach says he might be the Ultan or Ulton who had a chapel in Valay in the Scottish Hebrides, and whose arm, enclosed in a silver shrine, was served by a distinguished member of the clan of the O'Donnells in the island of Sanday, off the Mull of Cantyre. This seems to me very doubtful, as the name was a common one. I have suggested that he may have been one of the illuminators of the Lindisfarne Gospels. His death-day in the Calendar was August the 8th, but Colgan puts it on January the 17th.³ Miracles were performed at his grave, while a portion of his relics are said to have relieved a monk who was at death's door.

The description of it in the poem is picturesque. We read that when his body had long been consumed in the bowels of the earth, it pleased the monks to raise their brother's ashes from the tomb,

¹ "Talibus exornata bonis in vestibus albis
Inclita, sed vario comptim, permixta colore,
A dextris Virgo et Genitrix adstare videtur,
Rectoris, cælos terras qui et numine portat"
(Æthelwulf's poem, *Sym. of Durham*, ed. Arnold, i. 273).

² "Comitis qui potuit notis ornare libellos
Atque apicum speciem viritim sic reddit amoenam,
Hac arte ut nullus possit se aequare modernus
Scriptor" (*ib.* p. 274).

³ *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iv. p. 1060.

and place them with washen bones in the interior of a sepulchre built in the marble of the sacred temple. The consecrated bones of the pious father were brought forth, they were reft from the rich store of the earth's bowels. Hence, when the bones had been washed, and pure linen sheets were bearing his remains beneath the light of day, suddenly two birds approached and alighted upon the sheets. Their backs glistened, awe-inspiring, with varied tints ; chanting hymns with their beaks, they sweetly sing in harmony to the delight of all, while with their wings they veiled the skull of the Saint. So all day long they ceased not to tend the holy bones, and pour forth songs in beauteous strains, until the light of the sun had drawn up all moisture and had left the remains dry. (The translation of this paragraph in the original baffled me, and I owe it to the kindness of my cherished friend, Sir E. Kenyon.)

We are next told of a certain priest, who was a great benefactor of the House, named Fridgeils, and of a very pious brother named Cuicuin, probably a Celt who was a skilful smith and a very holy man, and who mingled the singing of psalms with his noisy occupation.¹

¹ "Ferrea qui domitans potuit formare metalla,
Diversisque modis sapiens incude subactum
Malleus in ferrum peditat stridente camino.

Hinc matutinis completis quam bene Psalmis
Continuo insonuit percussis cudo metallis
Malleus et vacuas volitans cum verberat auras.
Jam coenam fratrum peditans caldarius ornat"

(Arnold's *Symeon of Durham*, i. 276-7).

When he died, a choir of angels came to escort him to heaven, and *Æ*Ethuin,¹ a monk, commended his soul to God :—

. . . “animam Domino commendat in astra.”

*Æ*thelwulf then tells the quaint story of a certain Merchdof, who had become a monk after living in the world, and who, like Dryhthelm, when very ill, claimed that he had temporarily died and come to life again, and had seen in the other world his young sons who had died in infancy but “after baptism.” They went to meet him and accompanied him before the Judge at the Judgment. He asked on his knees to be permitted to enter, when the Judge reproached him for his former infidelity to his wife, and bade him seek her and solicit her pardon. He accordingly did so, but she instantly ordered him away. She did this in strident terms.² Then when he humiliated himself to the extreme point of licking the ground with his tongue before her, she relented so far as to ask that he might be

¹ Mr. Arnold suggests that this may have been *Æða* (*Etha*) the anchorite, whose death at Craike in 767 is mentioned in the *Historia Regum*. The terminations of many Saxon names, he justly adds, were variable. Thus Ceola for Ceolric, and Saexa, Cutha, and Siga for Saexwulf, Cuthwine, and Sigwulf (*op. cit.* p. 277, note *a*).

² “Cur tu stulte, fidem corruptus corpore, mente,
Irrita vota gerens, copulam conjungere natis
Ausus eras, thalamis maculans tua membra secundis,
Foedera cum manibus Domini per nomina summi
Ante diem mortis firmando gessit uterque,
Post mortem alterius maneat quod criminis expers?
Obstruso tacuit non laeti pectoris ore”

(Arnold’s *Symeon of Durham*, p. 279).

sent to the flames of purgatory. At the entreaty of her children, however, she at length consented to his soul returning again to the body in order to do its penance on earth rather than in that dangerous place. His spirit accordingly returned to his body again.

“Pervenit ad corpus, cunctis mirantibus illum
Vivere post mortem! . . .”

He now turned over an entirely new leaf, led a most penitential life, and died a good death.¹ The extraordinary part of all this is that the whole narrative was purely a subjective delusion, and that the sinner in telling the story should make such a public confession of his previously disguised peccadilloes to his very human wife. So much for some of the early inmates at Craike.

Meanwhile, Eanmund, the founder of the monastery, died, and the brethren buried him inside the church. He is mentioned in the *Liber Vitae* among the abbots.

Eorpwine was chosen as abbot in his place. The poet speaks of him in high terms as an excellent priest, a diligent scholar, a prudent and strenuous administrator, indulgent to others but severe on himself. His name also occurs thus among the abbots in the *Liber Vitae*—“*Eorpuini pbr.*”

I do not propose to carry the history of these

¹ “Cumque suis medicans frater cataplasma salutis
Vulneribus fecit, purgatus corpora linquit
Atque suae comitus sponsae penetralia comtae
Creditur ut laetus meruisse visere comta”

(Arnold's *Symeon of Durham*, p. 279).

abbots any further, their later story being out of the range of my present subject.

Let us therefore turn elsewhere. We saw how Adamnan, the Abbot of Iona, was expelled from that monastery by the monks, who could not tolerate his acceptance of the Roman tonsure and the Roman method of celebrating Easter, and how he went to Ireland and was there successful in causing the Church of the Northern Irish to conform to the orthodox practice, as that of the southern province had previously done.¹ Bede does not mention the expulsion, but says he sailed to Ireland to preach to the people, etc. He presently returned to Iona and earnestly inculcated the observance of the Catholic Easter, but in vain. He died shortly after, and before the next year came round; "for the Divine goodness so ordained it that he who was a great lover of peace and unity should be taken away to everlasting life so that he might not be obliged on the return of Eastertide to have to face still more discord with those who would not conform."² The feeling on the matter now became very strong, and created a schism in the community at Lindisfarne, and led to the appointment of rival abbots. For the first time since the foundation of the abbey by Columba, a monk of a strange family, and not a descendant of Conall Gulban, and the tribe of the Saint, became abbot, namely Conmael, son of Failbhe, of the tribe of Airgialla in Ireland, who presided over the new communion, and who died three years after and

¹ *Ante*, ii. 310 and 311.

² *Bede*, v. 15.

was succeeded by Ceode, bishop of Iona, who died in 712, and he by Dorbeni, who died on the 28th October 713. All this went on while the other and more powerful section followed the old custom of the Church under Duncadh,¹ and was patronised by the Pictish King Nechtan.

Presently, however, moved by the persuasion of Abbot Ceolfrid of Jarrow, who wrote him a long letter, Nechtan changed his view and sided with the Roman party. He then called upon the others to conform too. This was apparently obeyed by the various monasteries among Nechtan's people, except the larger part of the community itself at Iona. The King then proceeded to expel them, and they fled beyond Drumalban (the great mountain barrier of central Scotland known as "the Mounth"), where the various communities among the Northern Picts also refused to conform. This conversion was in 710.² Six years later St. Ecgberht came from Ireland (where he had been living a life of great asceticism)³ with the purpose and intention of healing the schism. According to Bede, he was welcomed even by the schismatics. He was an agreeable preacher and acted consistently with his preaching, and was willingly heard by all and presently won them over. "The monks of Hii," says Bede, "by the instruction of Ecgberht, adopted

¹ Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 175.

² *Vide ante*, ii. 316.

³ Plummer says he is called "Ichtbricht Epscop" in an Irish document containing an account of a Synod at Birra (Parsonstown) in which the so-called "Cain Adamnam" (Law of Adomnain) was promulgated. It was held in 696 (see Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 285).

the Catholic rites under Abbot Duncadh, about eighty years after they had sent Bishop Aidan to preach to the nation of the Angles.”¹ This was in 716. The conversion was not complete, however, for Tighernach, who specially mentions Abbot Duncadh’s adhesion, adds that “Faelchu Mac Dorbeni took the chair of Columba in his eighty-seventh year, on Saturday, August the 29th, 716.” This old gentleman doubtless presided over the ultra-conservatives among the monks. Tighernach records the death of Abbot Duncadh in the following year. On his death Faelchu became sole abbot, and thus the schism still continued. Thereupon we read that in 717 King Nechtan drove the whole family of Iona across Drumalban. This brought to an end the primacy of Iona over the churches and monasteries of the Southern Picts.²

St. Ecgberht died at Iona on Easter Day (April 24th), 729, after performing the solemnity of the Mass, “and thus he finished (or rather never ceased to celebrate), with our Lord, the Apostles, and the other citizens of heaven, the joy of that greatest festival which he had begun with the brethren whom he had converted to the grace of unity.”³

Leaving the diocese of Lindisfarne and the neighbouring districts of Scotland, let us now turn to Hexham. On the death of St. Wilfrid in 709 he was succeeded as bishop there by his confidential

¹ Bede, v. 9, 22.

² Skene’s *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 175–178.

³ Bede, v. 22.

friend Acca, who had already been its abbot by his own appointment, and whom he had already pointed out as the successor he should like to follow him as bishop. He had been brought up and instructed under Bishop Bosa at York, and accompanied Wilfrid on his journey to Friesland and then to Rome, where they lived together for a considerable time. "There he learnt many things concerning the government of the Holy Church, which he could not have learnt at home." On their return in 705 Wilfrid confided to him an account of the vision he claimed to have seen at Meaux. When passing through Canterbury on his way to Northumbria, Acca took with him a certain Maban (who had learnt Church music from the disciples of St. Gregory), and whose name points him out as a Welshman. His function was to teach Gregorian music at Hexham, and Acca kept him there twelve years. Bede says he was instructed to teach chanting and to introduce new ecclesiastical chants at Hexham.¹ Acca himself, according to Bede, was an expert singer, as well as a scholar.²

He greatly adorned and enlarged his church, and procured relics of the apostles and martyrs to enrich it in order to sanctify the altars in the various chapels (*portici*) which girdled its

¹ *Bede*, v. 20.

² Richard of Hexham exalts him in a number of superlatives thus: "*Sanctus Acca, presbyter, vir strenuissimus, coram Deo et hominibus magnificus, cantator peritissimus, in literis sacris doctissimus, in Catholicae fidei confessione castissimus, in ecclesiasticae quoque institutionis regulis solertissimus*" (*Church of Hexham*, 5 and 32).

walls. He doubtless completed the three churches dedicated to SS. Mary, Peter, and Michael, which Wilfrid had begun. The last one was in memory of the Saint who visited Wilfrid at Meaux.¹ "He also collected the histories of the sufferings of the martyrs, with other coexistent writings, and built a large and noble library, and brought together suitable holy vessels, lights," etc.²

He was most observant in the rules of ecclesiastical institutions, "nor will he ever indeed cease being so," says Bede, "till he shall receive the rewards of his pious devotion." This phrase shows he was still bishop when Bede wrote his history in 731.

In the year 732 he retired from his see.³ What was the actual reason for this no one knows. His character and reputation will not allow the supposition that he was guilty of any misconduct. Prior Richard suggests that he went from Hexham to re-establish the see at Whitherne (which was restored about this time), and which I think very probable.⁴ Raine sug-

¹ *Richard of Hexham*, xxxiii. 18.

² *Ib.* p. 31.

³ *Ib.* p. 34. In MSS. D, E, and F of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* this is dated in 733.

⁴ *Richard of Hexham*, p. 35. According to Bishop Forbes we have, in the Scottish Kalendar of Dempster, under the date August 6, the entry: "In Galloway, the day of 'Blessed Acta' (*sic*), Bishop of Candida Casa," while in that of Camerarius we read: "On January 16: Blessed Accas, Actas, Arcas, Bishop of Hexham in England, and of Candida Casa in Scotland." Skene, having regard to the dedication of one of its churches, says that he may have founded one of the early ecclesiastical settlements at St. Andrews (Forbes, *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, 261).

gests that it may have been from old age that he withdrew. It is significant, however, that his retirement and that of King Ceolwulf should be mentioned in the same paragraph in the supplement to Bede. Mr. Raine says very truly that if Acca had left Hexham in disgrace he would not surely have been regarded as a saint and with so much veneration, and the brethren of that monastery would not have allowed his bones to remain in their monastery. Stubbs connects his departure with the metropolitan jurisdiction of Ecgberht at York, then recently enacted.

Symeon of Durham says he died on the 19th of September 740;¹ Professor Stubbs says on October the 20th, 740.² His death therefore took place some years after he had ceased to be bishop, and his successor, Fruidberht, or Fridberht, was consecrated in 735,³ so that he clearly did not recover his see.⁴

The best testimony to his character and gifts is to be found in the fact that he was such a close friend of Bede.⁵

¹ *Hist. Reg.*, ch. 36.

³ Plummer's *Bede*, i. 360.

⁴ The church of Aycliffe, in Durham, is apparently dedicated to him or to St. Andrew. See Miss Arnold Foster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, iii. 38.

⁵ Bede styles him "carissime" (*Opp.*, i. 202); "dilectissime" (*ib.* i. 204; viii. 265; x. 2); "dilectissime antistitum" (i. 198; viii. 78 and 263); "amantissime antistes" (vii. 2); "aman-

tissime pontificum" (viii. 162); "dilectissime et desiderantissime omnium qui in terris morantur antistitum" (vii. 369); "sancte antistes" (i. 314); "reverendissime antistes" (viii. 360); "tua dulcissima sanctitas" (x. 268). He addresses his letters to him as "Domino in Christo dilectissimo" (i. 198); "Domino . . . nimium desiderantissimo" (x. 268); "Domino beatissimo et

² *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, i. 16.

It was by the persuasion of Acca that Æddi wrote the life of their common master, St. Wilfrid, and the book itself was dedicated jointly to Acca and Tatberht, Abbot of Ripon, and the brethren there.¹ A greater proof of his fame and character is the fact that Bede should have dedicated more than one of his own works to him, among others the *Hexameron*, which, as Stubbs says, seems to show they had been friends since 709.²

He also dedicated to him the hymn on the Day of Judgment, sometimes attributed to Alcuin. The concluding lines cited by Plummer are conclusive :—

“En tua jussa sequens cecini tibi carmina flendi,
Tu tua fac promissa, precor, sermone fideli
Commendans precibus Christo modo, meque canentem.
Vive Deo felix, et dic, vale, fratribus almis
Acca pater, trepidi et pavidi reminiscere servi
Meque tuis Christo precibus commenda benignis.”³

The dedication of Bede's *De Templo* presents an ambiguity, since while it is commended to Acca in the Merton MS. ; in MS. Phillips, 9428, it is

intima semper caritate venerando” (i. 203). Plummer, ii. p. 329. Acca, on the other hand, in the only letter which he wrote to Bede, which has been preserved, addresses him in turn as “dilectissime” (x. 267). As Mr. Plummer (from whom I have borrowed this note) says : “These contrasts illustrate the confusion existing in the Latin of this period between the active and passive participles” (Plummer, ii. 329).

¹ See *Historians of the Church of York*, p. 1.

² He also dedicated to him Commentaries on Genesis, Samuel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Mark, Luke, the Acts, the tracts *de mansionibus filiorum Israel* and *De eo quod ait Isaías*, etc. ; all of which were written at his instance. Plummer's *Bede*, i. xlix., note 2 ; *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, i. 16.

³ Plummer, *Bede*, i. cliii and cliv.

dedicated to Nothelm.¹ Bede also acknowledged his obligations to him for materials supplied for his *Ecclesiastical History*.²

One letter, as I have said, is extant written by him to Bede, whom he addresses as "*Reverendissimo in Christo fratri et consacerdote Bedae, presbytero.*" In this he presses him to complete his commentaries on Mark by undertaking those on Luke also. He also quotes in it from one or two classical writers, as well as from the Latin Fathers SS. Augustine and Ambrose, and ends by pressing his friend when he had done Mark to write on the first two Gospels, and, *inter alia*, quotes a depressing but philosophic phrase, "*Nihil est dictum quod non sit dictum prius.*"³ In his reply, in which he consents to do what his friend wishes, Bede speaks of himself as being Acca's scribe (*dictator*), notary, and librarian.

Acca was buried in the cemetery at Hexham, near the wall at the east end. Prior Richard says "in secretarium," *i.e.* in the sanctuary in which the high altar stood.⁴

Two crosses of stone, wondrously carved, one at his head and the other at his feet, marked his grave, of which one, which was placed at the head, bore an inscription stating he was buried there.⁵

¹ Plummer, *Bede*, i. xl ix, note 2.

² *H.E.*, iii. 13; iv. 14; see *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, i. 16.

³ *Richard of Hexham*, 33 and 34, note.

⁴ Symeon, or his interpolator, however, says: "*Corpus vero ejus ad orientatem plugam extra parietem ecclesiae Haugustaldensis*" (ed. Arnold, ii. 33).

⁵ *Ib.*



THE ACCA CROSS.

[Vol. III., facing p. 144.]

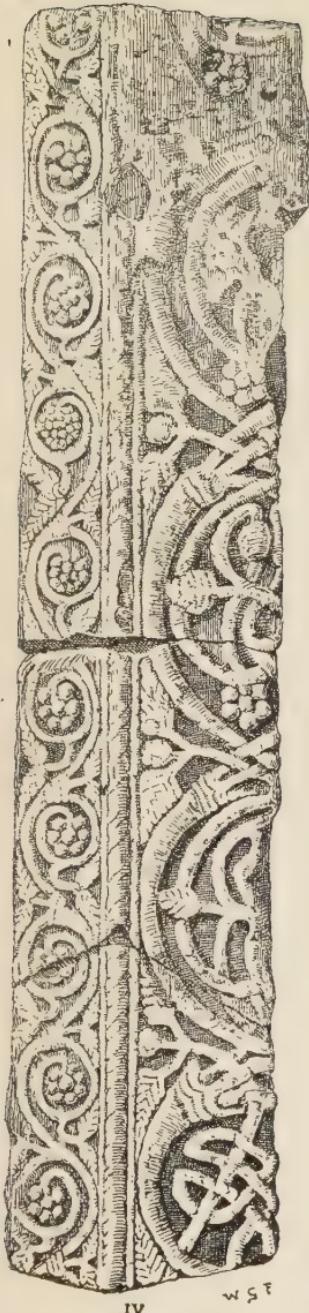
It has been generally accepted, and seems hardly doubtful, that one of these two stones is the one which was found when the chancel of the present church was built. "If beauty of design and execution would prove its identity, we may safely say it is the same. Three of the sides are sculptured, and the fourth has borne an inscription, which is completely obliterated. A vine throws its fruit and tendrils over the stone in beautiful and delicate luxuriance. A large portion of a similar cross, which may have been its companion, forms the lintel of a door at Dilston."¹

Bishop Browne, our best living authority on our early crosses, has given a description of those of Acca, which I shall take the liberty of appropriating. He says of the first-mentioned one that it is the most beautiful of all the great crosses of Northumbria. "It is," he goes on to say, "a portion of the cross which stood at the head of Bishop Acca's grave at Hexham. . . . The massive fragment was found in excavating in the churchyard at Hexham, along with another piece of a shaft of a cross with a portion of the head remaining. At Dilston, near Hexham, there was long known to be a stone used as the lintel of a doorway with similar sculpture. In the course of time these three pieces of Anglian sculpture were brought to Durham by the Reverend Wm. Greenwell, to whom the archaeological world owes so much. Mr. C. C. Hodges discovered that this

¹ Raine, *Hexham*, xxxiv.

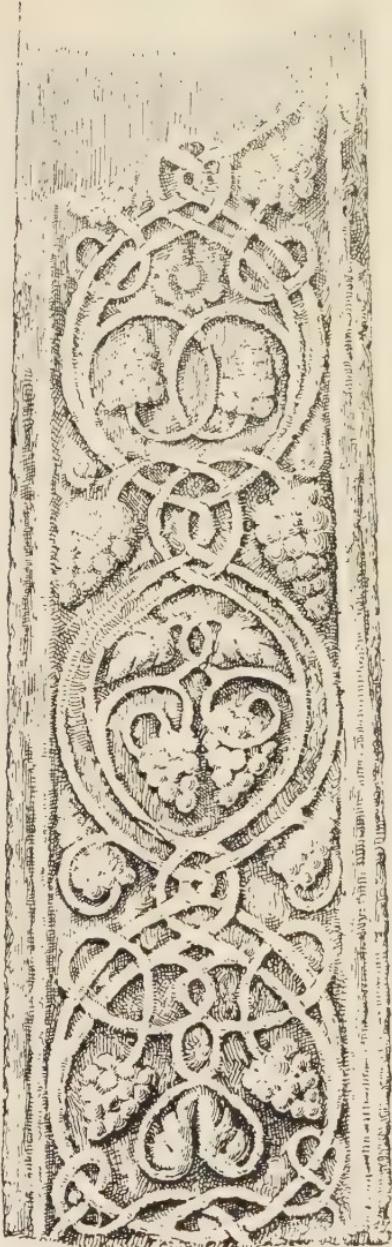
resemblance of ornament meant identity, and saw that the larger piece found in the churchyard exactly fitted to the massive piece which had served as a lintel. All that is now missing of the shaft of the cross is a piece of about 4 feet long, and this has been made in wood, with the top of the shaft and the portion of the head of the cross set on the top. Thus we have now the cross set up, just as it was, wanting the pieces that have not as yet been found. It was, when complete, a monument on the same scale as the other great crosses.

"With the Bewcastle and Rushworth crosses one thing pleased me much when I saw it all set up. In the lowest of three great ovals on the left face the tendrils interlace so as to form an equal armed cross. . . . The face and two sides are covered from top to bottom with beautiful scrolls and bunches of grapes and tendrils. On the back it was supposed the sculpture had all been chiselled off; it was left bare and battered in appearance. But when we came to examine it in all kinds of lights at all hours of the day, and by very powerful lights at night, we found to our delight that this was the side on which the inscription had been. Here and there we could read words, in letters 2½ inches long. Across the very top of the shaft 'A . . . A,' evidently Acca, followed by '*sanctus hujus ecclesiae.*' Two or three feet lower down we read '*unigeniti fili Dei,*' as though some profession of Acca's faith was inscribed on his head-cross,



IV

W.S.T.



DETAILS OF ACCA'S CROSS.

[Vol. III., facing p. 146.

conceivably in connection with the record that for some unexplained reason he was driven out of his bishopric. . . . The cross which stood at the feet is also, I believe, in existence under certain secular foundations. It is said to be a continuous piece at least 14 feet long.”¹

The name of Acca is commemorated in the Calendar on the 19th of February, and several miracles are assigned to him. His remains were twice translated, the first time by Alured or Alfred, son of Westoue, sacrist of the church of Durham, in the eleventh century. In the narrative of Symeon of Durham, or his interpolator, we are told that when the coffin was opened there was found on his breast a wooden table in the shape of an altar, made of two pieces of wood fastened together with silver nails; on it was sculptured the inscription, “Almae Trinitati, agiae Sophiae, Sanctae Mariae.”² Some of the Saint’s vesture was also found, and was afterwards shown to the crowd to be kissed.

His remains were again translated in 1154 and placed on the left of the altar, and eventually on the altar of St. Michael in the south chapel.³ Their last removal took place, according to a note in the Cambridge MS. of Prior Richard, in 1240, when some of the Saint’s vestments were found in wonderful preservation. Richard specially mentions

¹ Bishop Browne’s *Theodore and Wilfrith*, 257–261.

² *Hist. Reg.*, ed. Arnold, ii. p. 33.

³ Alred of Rievaulx, *De Sanct. Ecc. Hagust.*, ed. Surtees, p. 191.

a linen face-cloth, chasuble, and silken tunic (*sudarium lineum, et casula et tunica sericae*). These he tells us were removed from the coffin on account of his sanctity, and so that they might receive the devotions of those who came thither, and were still exhibited in the church in his day.¹

In the register of R. de Segbrok, keeper of Cuthberht's shrine at Durham, we find in the catalogue of relics there preserved "a piece of the chasuble of St. Acca the Bishop," and "an ivory casket with relics of St. Acca the Bishop, with portions of his face-cloth and chasuble which were in the ground for three hundred years, and the bones of St. Acca."²

We will now say a few words to bring the story of the abbeys of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth down to the year 731. We saw how Huætberht became abbot there on 25th September 716, on the departure of Ceolfrid for Rome,³ and have reported the letter of commendation which he gave to the latter to take to Pope Gregory II.⁴ His appointment was confirmed by Bishop Acca.⁵ He was no doubt known to the Pope, for we are told in Bede's *History of the Abbots* that he had visited Rome in the days of Pope Sergius (687-701) and had lived there a considerable time, and had thus no doubt largely increased his stores of learning. He was

¹ See *Richard of Hexham*, ed. Surtees, p. 36, note.

² Raine's *Cuthberht*, 123, 126, and 127.

³ Bede, *Hist. Abb.*, 20.

⁴ See *ante*, ii. 273 and 274.

⁵ Bede, *Hist. Abb.*, 20.

there in 701, for in another of Bede's works he speaks of him and his companions thus: “*Anno ab incarnatione septingentesimo primo inductione quarta-decima, fratres nostri qui tunc fuere Romae,*” etc.¹

There he transcribed and thence brought away with him whatever he considered necessary. He had been a priest twelve years when elected abbot, which puts his ordination in 704.²

Among the innumerable privileges of the monastery which, says Bede, “he recovered by his youthful energy and wisdom, there was one which afforded the greatest pleasure and gratification to all, namely, that he took up the bones of the Abbot Eosterwine, which had been deposited in the ‘porticus’ of the Church of the Blessed Apostle Peter, and those of his former master Siegfrid, which had been interred on the outside and south of the sacristy, and having placed them both in one shrine which had a division down the middle, he deposited them within the church and near the body of the Blessed Benedict (*i.e.* Benedict Biscop). This he did on Siegfrid’s birthday, *i.e.* the 11th of the Kalends of September (22nd August). Witmær, the venerable servant of Christ, having died on the same day, was put in the grave from which Siegfrid’s remains had been taken.”³ Of Witmær, Bede says that he was skilled no less in secular learning than in the Scriptures, and that he

¹ *De Temp. Rat.*, ch. 47; Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 365.

² Bede, *op. cit.* par. 18.

³ Bede, *Vit. Abb.*, par. 20.

made a donation for ever to the monastery of the Blessed Peter the Apostle, which he then governed (was he the Prior?), consisting of the land of ten families (*i.e.* ten hides), situated in the vill called Daltun, which he had himself received from King Aldfrid. Dalton-le-Dale is on the road from Wearmouth to Easington.¹

In the anonymous *History of the Abbots* a letter is recorded which Pope Gregory II. sent to him in reply to his commendatory note to Ceolfrid. It is entirely rhetorical and interlarded with Biblical quotations.² Bede was very fond of him, and speaks of him in affectionate terms. He dedicated his works *In Apocalysin* and *De Temp. Ratione* to him, and in his *De Temp. Nat.* he speaks of him as the youthful Huætberht, who on account of his love for and his devotion to piety had been styled Eusebius;³ and he so calls him in the dedication of the two works above named. It was under his abbacy that Bede passed the latter part of his life, and he probably outlived the historian several years, as is shown by a letter written to him by St. Boniface, and which has been dated in 744-747. In it Boniface, who calls him Huætberht, asks him to send him some of the works of "the most wise interpreter of the Scriptures, Beda the Monk, who *lately* in your House of God shone like a candle of the Church by his knowledge of the

¹ Bede, *Vit. Abb.*, par. 15. The text followed by Smith calls it Daldun, which is a township in the parish of Dalton-le-Dale (Rev. J. Stevenson's *Translation of Bede*, 615, note 4).

² Plummer, i. 403.

³ Plummer's *Bede*, i. xiv. note 7.

Scriptures" (*quem nuper in domo Dei apud vos vice candelae ecclesiastice scientia scripturarum fulsisse audivimus*).¹

He is apparently mentioned twice among the abbots in the *Liber Vitae* under the name of Huætbercht.

Let us now turn to York. We have seen how on St. Wilfrid's expulsion from Northumbria in 678, when his diocese was divided, King Ecgfrid and Archbishop Theodore appointed Bosa as his successor at York.² It is very remarkable, considering the importance of that see and the length of time that Bosa held it, that Bede should have so little to say about him. He mentions him as one of the five bishops who were pupils of St. Hilda, and that he was consecrated at York by Theodore, and was present at the Council of the Nidd. This is pretty nearly all we know of him. Alcuin praises him highly in his poem on the Bishops of York, where Bosa apparently organised the services in his church on the principles of the monastic, or at least the "common" life.

"Vir, monachus, praesul, doctor moderatus, honestus,
Quem Divina sacris virtutum gratia sertis
Compserat, et multis fecit fulgescere donis.

Non terras victusque, domus, nummismata, vestes
Nec quicquam proprium sibimet jam vindicet ullus,
Omnia sed cunctis fierent communia semper."³

¹ He also asks him to send him a bell (*cloccam unam*), and bids him accept in return a chair or seat (*lectisternia caprina*; Dümmler glosses the former word by *lecti opertoria*; *Mon. Hist. Germ., Epistolarum* iii. 348).

² Bede, iv. 12, and v. 24.

³ Raine, *Historians of York*, 374-5.

He was honoured as a confessor on the 13th of March.¹ Some authors have made a mistake about the date of his death, which they have put much too early. He must have been living in 704, when Pope John mentions him in the letter of commendation which St. Wilfrid brought back from Rome with him,² so that he could not have been dead before that year. He probably died in 705, and was succeeded by John, known as Saint John of Beverley.

In the anonymous life of that saint published by Leland³ it is said that it was reported he was born at the village of Harpham (near Driffield), of noble parents, and that he was brought up under Archbishop Theodore, who gave him the name of John; he afterwards became a pupil of St. Hilda at Whitby.⁴ Raine says he was claimed by Oxford as an alumnus, and his figure appeared as a doctor in one of the old windows at University College, and in another window at Salisbury Cathedral as the first Master of Arts at Oxford.⁵ This is, of course, mere fable, as there was no University at Oxford till long after his day. He was famed for his learning and as a preacher and teacher, notably in scripture and history, and had a number of pupils, among them being Bede, St. Siegfrid the deacon, Abbots Berchthun and Herebald, and the younger Wilfrid, whom he afterwards admitted to Holy Orders. In his earlier days John lived an ascetic

¹ Raine, *Fasti Eb.*, i. 84.

² See Æddi, liv. ; *Richard of Hexham*, Surtees ed., 28 and 29, note.

³ *Coll.*, iii. 100.

⁴ *Bede*, iv. 21 [23].

⁵ *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iii. 377.

life at a place called Erneshaw or Herneshalg. Prior Richard says it was situated north of the Tyne on a height overhanging the river. He elsewhere adds that there was an oratory there dedicated to St. Michael, which was appurtenant to Hexham Abbey.¹ Bede says it was situated in a retired situation enclosed by a narrow wood and a trench, and that it had a cemetery attached to it. The man of God used to retire thither with some companions, particularly in Lent, so that he might devote himself to undisturbed reading and prayer. On one occasion he bade his companions find some poor person whom he might keep with him for a few days by way of alms, as was his wont. They brought a poor dumb boy, who had never spoken a word, and who, according to Bede, had so much scurf and scabs on his head that no hair ever grew on it, but only some rough burrs. The good man had a cottage made for him within the enclosure of his dwelling where he might live, and he gave him a daily allowance. On the second Sunday in Lent he sent for him and told him to put his tongue out. Holding him by the chin he made the sign of the Cross over his tongue, and then told him to withdraw it and try to say the Anglian word *Gae*, which, says Bede, means "Yes." The boy's tongue was at once loosened and he did as he was told. He then went through the alphabet with him, and also bade him say long sentences, which he accordingly

¹ See *Richard of Hexham*, ed. Surtees, 15; he glosses the name Erneshaw by the words *Latine, Mons aquilae.*

did. The physician was then ordered to cure his head, which he also succeeded in doing. The boy acquired a good crop of hair, and then returned home.¹ Bede says he heard the story from John's friend, Abbot Berchthun. Raine, in his edition of *Richard of Hexham*, identified the Herneshalg or Erneshaw of the story with St. John's Lee (*i.e.* St. John's meadow), which just tallies with the description and the alleged distance from Hexham; it has, further, always belonged to that see. It may be that it was named not after the Archbishop, but after St. John the Baptist, for Reginald tells us that on the latter's vigil and natal day a great number of the halt and sick used to repair there. It is more probable that the Baptist had been substituted for the Bishop in later times.² St. John's Lee is the very place, says Raine, for a hermit's cell, and you think of what it was twelve centuries ago, with the eagles swooping to their eyrie over the solitary graveyard. He adds a caveat in regard to Reginald's etymology, however, for Hernshaw means a heron.³ There was a kind of religious wake held on the 23rd and 24th of June there.

John was a protégé of King Aldfrid, and it was probably through his influence that he was made Bishop of Hexham on the death of Eata in 685, and was presently translated to York. He is described as having been diligent in ruling the monasteries, attending to the poor and consecrating churches, and was a favourite with King Osred and

¹ *Bede*, v. 2. ² *Op. cit.* pp. 17 and 18. ³ *Op. cit.* 15 and 16, Note Z.

his nobles. During his wanderings in the East Riding he observed a spot called Deirewald (*i.e.* Sylva Deirorum), where wild forest and waters were interspersed with rich pasture lands, and which in later times was known as Beverley, from the beavers which abounded in the waters of the river Hull. There was a little church there dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, which he acquired and made into the nucleus of a monastery, in which he put some monks. He rebuilt the presbytery of this church and also an oratory dedicated to St. Martin to the south of it, where he settled some nuns. The community he founded consisted of seven priests and seven other clerics.¹ "John," says the same author, "acquired the manor of Ridinges for his monasteries and built the church of St. Nicholas on his property there. He also gave the same monastery, lands at Middleton, Welwik, Bilton, and Patrington."²

Bede tells us more than one interesting miraculous story about the bishop. One of these, which occurred at the monastery of Wetadun (now Watton, in the East Riding), I have already described. Another, which was reported to him by Berchthun, who became the first Abbot of Beverley, states that about two miles from Beverley there lived a *gesyth* or lord (*comes*) called Puch, who had a manor there. The anonymous biographer and Folcard say this was at South Burton (it is now called Bishop's Burton).

¹ *Anon. Life* in Leland, *op. cit.* iii. 100.

² Leland, *op. cit.* iii. 101.

Puch's wife had languished from an acute disease for forty years, and for three weeks it had not been possible to remove her from her bed. The bishop was invited by her husband to consecrate a church or chapel near his house (probably a domestic chapel). He asked him to dine with him on the occasion, but the latter declined, saying he must return to the monastery. Puch pressed him to do so, and said he would give alms to the poor if he would condescend to break his fast under his roof. Berchthun also urged him to do so, saying he would also give some alms if he would dine with the great man and give his blessing. The bishop having after some further demur consented, sent some holy water (which he had consecrated for the dedication of the church by one of his clergy) to the sick woman, with injunctions that she was to drink some of it, and rub the place where the pain was felt with the rest. We are told she immediately recovered and became strong, and then presented the cup to his companions and served them with drink during the dinner—thus following, says Bede, the example of Peter's mother-in-law as told in Matthew viii. 14.¹

Mr. Plummer, in commenting on this miracle, has a note on the curious early rule that a man might redeem his fast (*his fasten aliesan*, as the Anglo-Saxon version has it), *i.e.* get rid of the penalty of going through it, by giving alms.²

¹ *Bede*, v. 4.

² See Bede's *Penitential*; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 333 and 334; Plummer, ii. 276.

Puch's daughter, Yolfrida, became a nun at Beverley and died on the 3rd of the Ides of March 742, and her remains were deposited in the monastery there. The *Anon. Life* in Leland also says that Puch gave the manor of Walkington with his daughter to Beverley,¹ and that Addi, the lord of the manor of North Burton, also gave that manor with the advowson of its church to the same church. "Chapels (*Capellae*) were afterwards built at Lekingfeld and Scorburgh, which afterwards became parish churches." King Osred similarly gave the manor of Dalton, in Yorkshire, where he had a royal villa, to this same foundation.²

On another occasion, according to Bede, the bishop, being called in to dedicate Addi's new church, was asked by him to visit one of his servants who was very ill and had lost the use of his limbs ; the coffin, indeed, to bury him in, had already been provided. Addi urged that the man's life was of great consequence to him, adding that if the bishop would only put his hands on him he would be cured. John thereupon went in to see him, and found him with his coffin beside him and all the people sorrowing around. He prayed and blessed him. Presently when they were at dinner the young man sent to beg for a cup of wine, as he was thirsty. The nobleman sent him one blessed by the bishop, whereupon he at once got up and dressed himself, and went in to salute the latter, saying he would also like to eat and be merry with them. He did

¹ Leland, *op. cit.* iii. 100.

² *Ib.* 101.

so, and lived for many years afterwards. The abbot (who reported it) confessed that the miracle had not taken place in his presence, and he had only heard of it!!!¹

Bede also tells of another miracle performed on Herebald, one of the bishop's household (who became Prior of Tynemouth, a post he held in 731, when he himself was writing his history), and to which Herebald himself was wont to testify. His story was that in the prime of youth he lived among the clergy and applied himself to reading and singing, but had not altogether given up his boyish and frivolous ways. He and his companions, when they were travelling with their master (*i.e.* John), came to a flat and open road, well adapted for racing their horses. The young men of the party, especially the laymen, asked the bishop to let them have a gallop to test the quality of their horses. At first he refused, saying it was an idle pastime, but under pressure consented on condition that Herebald should have no part in the trial. The latter begged hard that he too might have permission in order to test a horse which had been a present from the bishop himself, but he would not consent. Presently when the rest had ridden to and fro several times he became excited, and in spite of the bishop's wish, mixed with them and began to ride at full speed, at which John was greatly grieved. Suddenly his horse took a great leap over a hollow place in the course, and he fell

¹ *Bede*, v. 5.

off and lost his senses, as if he were dead, "it having been ordained by Divine providence that in punishment of his wilfulness his head should strike the only stone existing in that place, and which was disguised by the turf." He broke his thumb and the joints of his skull were loosened (*infracto pollice capitis quoque junctura solveretur*). As he could not be moved they stretched a tent over him (*tetenderunt ibidem papilionem in quo jacerem*). He thus lay unconscious from the seventh hour of the day till the evening, when he revived a little and was then carried home by his companions and lay speechless all night, vomiting blood, because his intestines were ruptured by his fall (*eo quod et interanea essent ruendo convulsa*). The bishop was much grieved, for he greatly loved the boy, and instead of spending the night with his clergy he sat watching and praying alone, imploring the Divine Goodness for his recovery. Coming to him early in the morning he said a prayer over him, called him by his name, and (as it were waking him out of a heavy sleep) asked him whether he knew who was speaking to him. Herebald replied, "I do, it is my beloved bishop." "Can you live?" said he. He answered, "I may through your prayers, if it shall so please God."

The bishop then laid his hand on his head with the words of blessing and went to prayers, and when he presently returned he found his stricken young friend sitting up and able to talk. Being admonished by Divine instinct, the bishop asked him if he had

ever been baptized. Herebald told him he knew he had, and named the priest who had officiated. The bishop then said he had known the priest in question. He was a man, he said, who could not, on account of his dulness of understanding, learn the ministry of catechising and baptizing, and that he ought to have been inhibited from his presumptuous exercise of the ministry which he could not rightly perform. He thereupon catechised Herebald afresh, and blew upon his face (*i.e.* practised the rite of ex-sufflation), which formed a part of every baptismal service. Herebald presently found himself better. John also summoned the surgeon and bade him bind up his skull where it had been loosened, and soon he was so much recovered that he went for a ride on horseback and travelled with the bishop to another place, and when he had quite recovered he was sprinkled with the life-giving water.¹

The view here proclaimed and acted upon by Bishop John was clearly quite unorthodox according to the theories of the Western Church, which did not permit re-baptism, even if the baptizing person was a heretic or schismatic. On this Bede himself is positive, and the view was maintained very definitely by Pope Zacharias in a letter he wrote to St. Boniface in 746, rebuking him for re-baptizing persons in a case where an ignorant priest had baptized people with the blundered formula, “*Baptizo te in nomine patri et filia et Spiritus Sancti.*”²

¹ *Bede*, v. chap. 6.

² *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, iii. Ep. p. 338; see Plummer, *op. cit.* ii. 277.

William of Malmesbury has a miracle story of another kind, in which John had a part. He says the people of Beverley used sometimes to have an exhibition of the fiercest bulls (perhaps a bull-baiting was meant). The bulls were bound with many knotted cords and dragged along with the greatest difficulty by very strong men. On one occasion they escaped and made their way into the cemetery of the monastery, whereupon they became as quiet as sheep.¹

John's biographer Folcard reports of him that he was once the guest of King Osred, when the butler Brithred was told to fill up three jars, one with wine, a second with milk, and the third with beer. When the drink ran short, our Saint, as at the marriage at Cana, replenished the liquor by blessing the vessels.² On another occasion, when staying at Beverley with Abbot Berchthun, he took a bath, after which the abbot asked him if he would have a glass of wine. Brithred the butler broke the glass accidentally as he was carrying it, but the wine by the Saint's intervention did not run away.³ On another occasion he is reported to have restored a boy to life by the use of chrism.⁴ It was said that John used sometimes to visit the church of St. Michael at York, and while there a dove, as in the case of St. Gregory, visited him and settled on his head.

¹ *Gest. Pont.*, iii. 110.

² Raine's *Historians of York*, i. 254 and 255.

³ *Ib.* 255.

⁴ *Ib.* 257-8.

Bede tells us that when he was an old man, being unable to govern his diocese properly, John ordained his priest (that is, his chaplain) Wilfrid, to the see, which was an irregular practice, and then retired to his own foundation of Beverley, where he died in 721 A.D., and where he was buried in the porticus or chapel of St. Peter.¹ His festival was observed at Beverley on the 7th May, which is his day in the York Missal. Florence of Worcester also says he died on that day.²

Bale³ attributes homilies and epistles to him, namely, "Pro Luca exponendo" (lib. i.), "Homeliae Evangeliorum" (lib. i.), "Ad Hyldam Abbatissam" (lib. i.), "Ad Herebaldum Discipulum" (Epist. i.), "Ad Audoenum et Bertinum Epist. ii., etc."⁴

John after his death became the patron saint of Beverley, and is universally known as St. John of Beverley; he was, in fact, one of the principal saints in the north of England, and was officially canonised by Pope Benedict IX. in 1037.

The bishop's remains were placed in a feretory of wood, beautifully carved.⁵ They remained intact until the Danish invasion, when the monastery at Beverley, like all others in northern England, was destroyed, together, says the anonymous biographer, with the books and all the ornaments there, and it remained desolate for three years, when the priests and clerics returned and rebuilt it. They had

¹ Bede, *op. cit.* v. 6.

² Plummer, ii. 273; *M.H.B.*, p. 541.

³ *Scrr. Brit. Cent.*, i. 89.

⁴ Raine, *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iii. 377.

⁵ *Ib.* 378.

apparently preserved the Saint's remains, which were translated by Archbishop *Ælfric* on the 8th of the Kalends of November 1037, in the reign of Edward the Confessor. The bishop's ring and some fragments of the Gospels were found in the coffin and were afterwards put in his reliquary.¹ At the same time the remains of St. Berchthun were also translated. He had been his deacon and became the first abbot of Beverley.

St. John's new shrine was highly decorated with silver and precious stones. In 1187 the monastery was again burnt down. In consequence a new shrine had to be made, to which the Saint's remains were moved in 1198. These were discovered in 1664 under a marble stone at the entrance to the quire. A leaden plate with an inscription was found with them. The remains were again seen in 1736.²

His shrine was said to possess great curative powers, and a sweet oil flowed from his tomb ; at other times an effulgent light shone over it.³

The number of miracles recorded as having been performed by his relics are quite phenomenal, and his tomb was visited by a long array of English kings. The first who is recorded to have done so was Athelstan. One of the writers who reported John's miracles says that that King when on his campaign to Scotland met many people in Lindsey, and hearing how they had been cured by St.

¹ *Anon. Life* in Leland, iii. 102.

² Raine, *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iii. 378.

³ *Ib.* 378.

John, sent his army to Beverley to get his blessing. He himself took a knife from its sheath (*extrahens cultellum suum de vagina*) and placed it on the altar. He proposed to handsomely redeem it if he returned successfully, and bore away with him the Saint's banner to fight under. When the Scots were in retreat and had crossed a ford, John is said to have appeared to the King in a dream and bade him follow them over the river and conquer, which he did. Having beaten them, he subjected them to tribute. At Dunbar he asked for a sign from heaven of his impending victory, and it was granted him, for, striking a hard stone with his sword, he clave it as if it were butter, "as may still be seen," says our author.

On his return, Athelstan visited Beverley and made an offering of his arms and of other gifts to St. John, and also gave the place the right of sanctuary, the limits of which were marked by four stone crosses: one of which was at Melescroft, now Molescroft, about a mile from Beverley on the road to York. He decreed that any one violating the sanctuary within this limit was to pay a fine of eight pounds of silver to the church. If within the three crosses (marvellously carved, standing at the entrance of Beverley), twenty-four pounds. If within the cemetery of the church, seventy-four pounds. If within the church itself, this last fine was to be tripled. If, lastly, within the chancel arch (*infra arcus supra introitum cancelli positos*), "the last penalty" was

to be exacted.¹ According to our author, Athelstan made over to the monastery, for the annual upkeep of the clergy, the equivalent of the obligation of providing *hesterasfda*, or a supply of fodder, for the King's horses, which had been imposed on the "coloni" (? farmers) in a large district in Yorkshire. It involved a charge on each carucate in the East Riding (*i.e.* the product of each plough,—*ad cultrum et vomerem*) of four *travas* (?) of its fruits. This had hitherto been levied on the district bounded on one side by the Derwent, on another by the Humber, and on a third by the North Sea. "The district," he says, "had anciently been called Deira."² The deed securing these privileges was written in Anglo-Saxon.³

Athelstan also founded a College of Canons at Beverley, named a town among the Scots after St. John, and presented the church at Beverley with lands at Brandesburton and Lokington, and decreed that it should be the capital of all the East Riding.⁴

Several post-Conquest kings had dealings with the place. Thus we are told by Ketel, who was one of those who collected and published his miracles, that Beverley and its sacred patrimony and right of shelter were alone respected by William the Conqueror when he ravaged Yorkshire, and that

¹ *Acta Miracula St. John*; Raine's *Church Historians of York*, pp. 297-298.

² Leland, *Coll.*, iii. 101; Raine's *Church Historians of York*, pp. 293-298.

³ Leland, *Coll.*, iii. 101.

⁴ *Ib.* 101.

some soldiers, led by Thurstan, having incontinently plundered it, the King made ample amends.

A very notable personage who visited Beverley and its shrine was Edward I., who in his Scottish war took St. Wilfrid's and St. John's banners with him,¹ and had them placed on a chariot on the battlefield, whence the fight was known as the Battle of the Standard.

Henry IV. and V. both visited the shrine. The battle of Agincourt was, in fact, fought on the 25th October, the day of the translation of St. John's remains. The latter King attributed his victory to the intercession of the Saint, and made a pilgrimage with the Queen to Beverley. In consequence, Archbishop Chichele ordered that the Saint's deathday should in future be observed as a "distinguished festival."²

Let us now tell one or two of the stories which were current about the efficacy of the Saint's intervention in curing human ills after his death. Archbishop Gerald having visited Beverley, one of his servants who was deaf and dumb was cured while that prelate was saying mass. The archbishop referred to the miracle in his sermon, when a certain Anglian noble who was present told the

¹ *Richard of Hexham*, pp. 90, 91. He quotes two lines from a poem written on the occasion by Sotevagina, the Archdeacon of York, and involving a pun which run thus :—

"Dicitur a stando standardum, quod stetit illic
Militiae probitas vincere sive mori."

² *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iii. p. 378.

great man he must not think so highly of the occurrence, for such miracles were common at Beverley, and he urged him, therefore, to beware of meddling with the privileges of the place. It would seem that the archbishop was an austere person and had been unduly exacting in his discipline. Other stories show that in order to exact ransom from prisoners it was the fashion at this time to torture them and even to take out their teeth. Prayers to St. John are reported to have caused the bonds of captives to be broken, and to have helped them to secure the shelter of the abbey's "sanctuary precincts."

Another story shows that it was the custom for certain criminals to be condemned to wear an iron girdle round their waist as a penance. One such had been ordered to wear it for killing his brother, and had had it on a year. When praying for St. John's help, it burst asunder, and the narrator says he heard it crack. On another occasion a rustic from Lindsey was troubled with a huge tumour or growth, which entirely deformed him. It being beyond the skill of the wise women (*sapientibus muliebris*) whom he consulted, they advised him to go to the shrine of some saint, and St. John was chosen by lot. The writer claims to have known the man.

On another occasion a ship was going from Apulia to Rome, and was in peril from a storm. An Englishman on board made the sailors pray to St. John, who shared with St. Nicholas the

privilege of controlling the waves. They did so, and being saved, made a collection for the Saint's shrine.

Having told this story, the writer declared he would describe no more miracles, for he was sick at heart at the prosperity of the wicked in his time, but he begs St. John to help him to eternal life as a reward for his humble efforts to extol him in his book. Others continued the rôle of storyteller, however, after the dispirited Ketel was weary.

Thus one tells how on a certain occasion, a great drought having supervened in Yorkshire, some of the canons from York went to Beverley to ask for the Saint's help. They formed a great procession, which perambulated the church with the Saint's body. A storm of rain having come on, the credit of it was given to St. John. On another occasion an apoplectic Irishman was cured by the shadow of the Saint's shrine falling on him. On another, again, a scholar who visited Beverley fell in love with a young lady and could not cure his passion. He accordingly had recourse to the Saint, who took away his evil desire. This was indeed a strong proof of the Saint's potency.

Again, a ship bound for Scotland was overtaken by a storm, and some merchants on board turned to St. John for help, who produced a calm. One of them who meanwhile had a trance (*velut in exstasi positus*) described a vision he had seen, in which a troop of devils had determined to de-

stroy the vessel, but were driven away by a certain bishop, who turned out to be St. John.

Another miracle is worth reporting as affording a side-light on old customs. We are told that on a certain summer day a miracle play, representing Christ's resurrection, was being performed inside the wall of the cemetery of St. John's church at Beverley, which was attended by a large crowd of people. So great was the throng that a large number of them, especially those of little stature, could not see what was going on, so they entered the church—some to pray and some to look at the pictures, etc. Among them were a number of boys, who soon found a door opening on to a staircase by which they could mount to the top and thence on to the roofs, and made their way through the open windows in the turrets or by holes in the glass of the windows, whence they could see and hear the play. "They thus imitated Zaccheus," says our narrator, who was also a small man and who climbed a tree the better to see Christ. The watchmen having given chase after the intruders, one of the boys tried to make his way down by scaling the wall by the great cross, then standing near the altar of St. Mary. One of the stones, however, gave way, whereupon he fell on the pavement and lay as if dead. The spectators, and especially the boy's parents, were greatly grieved and wept audibly, but by the help of the Saint he was restored again and showed no sign of having been hurt. Thus, says our writer, was the drama

of the resurrection re-enacted not only outside the church but also inside.

I have made a selection from such among the many miracles reported of St. John and his remains, as seemed to me to have an additional interest in illustrating manners and customs in old days. The greater part of the rest are tedious beyond measure, and relate miraculous cures of various kinds *ad nauseam*, and other very trivial benefits conferred on supplicants for the Saint's bounty. All of them were useful, however, for pointing certain morals in homilies and sermons. From them the great stream of pilgrims might learn what a useful friend the Saint could be to simple mortals if they would only generously increase his income and that of his great Minster at Beverley, and help his officers to keep his fame alive in a suitable fashion. Such shrines were multiplied all over the country ; some were of greater and some of less importance, and were believed to afford much more certain remedies for the lame, the halt, and the blind than any number of doctors or wise women. It is impossible to understand early mediæval history if we ignore such stories. They formed the great staple of popular literature, and best illustrate popular thought and belief. It is really wonderful what immense crowds and from how far and from what a variety of places people came to a shrine so famous as that of St. John of Beverley. Registers of these visitors, with their dignity duly noted, were carefully preserved, in which the habitat of each

person cured was duly given. The larger number came from Lincolnshire and the neighbouring counties, to which Beverley was the most accessible shrine; but they came also from remote corners of the country. Their number was also largely increased by those who sought sanctuary at Beverley.

The Saint himself was universally known as St. John of Beverley. Some lections are marked in certain copies of Bede meant to be used on his feast-day.¹ Miss Forster mentions churches at Asslackton, Harpham, Lee St. John, Salton, Scarrington, Whatton-in-the-Vale, and Wressle as dedicated to him.²

John was succeeded as Bishop of York by Wilfrid, called Wilfrid the younger (*Wilferð seo junga*),³ and otherwise referred to as Wilfrid the second. He was educated under Hilda at Whitby,⁴ and, according to Alcuin, had been “vicedomnus” (? prior) and “abbas” (or abbot) at York.⁵ It may be that he was the “Wilfrid the Abbot” who was the intimate friend of St. Guthlac, as reported by Felix. He was, as we have seen, nominated and consecrated as his successor at York by St. John of Beverley. Alcuin in his poems mentions his generous gifts to the minster, including a covering for the altar, and crosses, covered by plates of silver gilt, and that he was also generous

¹ Plummer's *Bede*, i. 432.

² *Op. cit.* iii. 387, 388.

³ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, sub an. 744.

⁴ *Bede*, iv. 21 [23].

⁵ Alcuin, *De Pont. Ebor.*, v. 1217.

to other churches. He resigned the see before his death in 732, probably in consequence of old age, and died in 745.¹ Dr. Stubbs, in his work on Episcopal Succession, pp. 5 and 180, does not seem to accept this view, and considers that he died in 732. The authority of Bede's Continuator, supported by Symeon of Durham,² are, however, decisive, and Alcuin's *De Pont. Ebor.*, vv. 1237, etc., distinctly refers to his retirement—

“At sua facta bonus postquam compleverat ille
Pastor in ecclesiis, specialia septa petivit
Quo servire Deo tota jam mente vacaret,” etc.

He gives him a high character, and his words show he was very popular and much beloved, and that he was a lover of hospitality and a man of the world.³ His words are a paraphrase of Bede's letter to Archbishop Ecgberht, and prove what he thought of him.

Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, 940–959, moved the remains of what he supposed was the body of the great St. Wilfrid to Canterbury. This was stoutly denied by the northern men, and I have discussed the matter on an earlier page. The people of York maintained that the remains so removed were those of Wilfrid the second. Eadmer, however, says that Wilfrid the second's remains were enshrined at Worcester by St. Oswald. Wilfrid was succeeded at York by

¹ See Continuator of Bede. Plummer, i. p. 362.

² *Ep. de Arch. Ebor.*, par. i., Rolls ed. i. 224.

³ Raine, *Hist. of the Church of York*, i. p. 385.

Ecgberht, whose episcopate forms no part of my subject.

The succession of Ecgberht forms, in fact, a very important new departure in the history of the Northern Church, and eventually in that of the English Church also, for he was the first Archbishop of York, all his predecessors having been simply bishops of that see. Thenceforward the English Church had two ecclesiastical provinces, and the Archbishop of Canterbury ceased to be the sole Metropolitan of England.

We have now followed the fortunes of the Anglian Church to a notable point, and it will be opportune to close our survey with Bede's report on the condition of things among the races and communities beyond our borders when he concluded his famous book in 731. He says : "The Picts at this time have a treaty of peace with the nation of the Angles, and rejoice in being united in Catholic peace and truth with the Universal Church. The Scots that inhabit Britain, satisfied with their own territories, meditate no plots or conspiracies against the nation of the Angles. The Britons, though they for the most part, through domestic hatred, are adverse to the nation of the Angles, and wrongfully and from wicked custom oppose the appointed Easter of the whole Catholic Church ; yet, from both the Divine and human power firmly withstanding them, they can in no way prevail as they desire ; for though in part they are their own masters, yet

partly also they are brought under subjection to the English.

Let me finish in his own exulting words : “*Hic est impraesentiarum universae status Britanniae anno adventus Anglorum in Brittaniam circiter ducentissimo octogesimo quinto, Dominicae autem Incarnationis anno DCCXXXI.; in Cujus regno perpetuo exsultet terra, et congratulante in fide ejus Britannia, laetentur insulae multae et confiteantur memoriae sanctitatis ejus.*”¹

¹ Bede, *H.E.*, v. 23.

APPENDIX I

THE ROYAL AND HIGH-BORN NUNS

ONE feature of the Early English Church which is continually present to those who read its history is the large part occupied by nuns, especially by nuns of high birth, in its polity. I have had to mention them prominently on several occasions, but deem it well to collect together in a more formal manner an account of such incidents regarding them as have not come within the general course of my narrative.

The existence of women whose lives were devoted to virginity and to the services of religion, was of course known to Paganism. The Vestal Virgins naturally suggest themselves as an example. When the ascetic life pervaded the Church with its ideals, ideals largely involving withdrawal from the world and its pleasures, and devotion to penitential life, it is not strange that the more emotional sex, a sex prone to extravagance in the pursuit of self-sacrifice, took an active part. When the hermits covered the Egyptian deserts with their colonies, women were represented among them as were men, and when St. Basil first put order into these devotees by associating them into communities living under a Rule, he provided for communities of women as well as men.

In the West such communities of women seem to have come into general existence somewhat later, and it would appear that even in the time of Pope Gregory the Great a large portion of the nuns—and there were, according to his letters, 3000 of them living in Rome alone—apparently dedicated themselves, but lived in their own houses, as his sisters and mother did. In other cases it would seem that from early times communities of men and women grew up side by side, which was a convenient way of providing for the services in the nunneries. In either case, the vows of virginity and obedience which accompanied the dedication had to be made in the presence of a bishop, who consecrated and gave them the necessary benediction.

As time went on the necessity for more stringent Rules to prevent scandals when monasteries of the two sexes were placed near each other was felt. Several of these Rules are extant, the most famous of them being those of Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles (502-542) in France, and of Archbishop Leander in Spain.

When Cæsarius composed his Rule the discipline of the female communities had become very lax, and there was continual intercourse between them and the world by letters, etc., while they were accustomed to receive visits in private in their parlours and chambers. They used to ingratiate themselves with their male friends by taking care of their clothes, washing their linen, etc. Given to luxury, they indulged in rich carpets and coverlets, purple dresses, embroideries, laces, and delicately ornamented serviettes. Their houses had, as a recent biographer of the Bishop says, "become retiring places for widows and young women who wanted to escape marriages with unattractive suitors." They were often a troop of demimondistes in the guise of servants of God. All this was encouraged by the absence of any effective Rule. The discipline of the nunneries was in fact much looser than that of the monks. They were dependent on the male clergy for all their services, and their houses were not too closely overseen by the bishops. All this must be remembered when we judge of the minute instructions in the Rule of Cæsarius.

St. Cæsarius was the first person in the West to draw up a Rule specifically for nuns. It was prepared for a convent at Arles which was dedicated to St. John, and was partly founded on the Monastic Rules in vogue at Lerins, and the works of St. Augustine and Cassian, and consisted of forty-three heads, of which I will give an abstract.

I. This provided a close claustral life until death for the nuns, and seems to have been the first Rule with this provision. Once a nun was professed, she was not to leave the nunnery till her death.

II. Swearing and the taking of oaths was forbidden, as the venom of the devil (*velut venenum diaboli*).

III. No nun was to be professed till her real vocation had been severely tested, and for this purpose she was to be placed under a senior for instruction. It was only on the request and report of her directress that she was (under the supervision of the prioress) to take the habit and join the *schola* of the nuns.

IV. Widows or those who had left their husbands were not allowed to enter nunneries until they had divested themselves of all their property by gift or sale in accordance with Matthew xix. and Luke xxiv. No virgin could reach perfection until she had surrendered all she possessed, which was styled "peculiarity." Until this was done she was not to receive the veil. Those whose parents were still living, and who for this reason had not obtained their patrimony, were to enter into an undertaking to give it up when they succeeded to it. No nun, not even the abbess, was to have a private servant. When at work the older ones might, however, be helped by the younger ones.

V. Neither the children of nobles nor of humble folk were to be brought up or taught in the nunneries, unless when they were offered by their parents with the intention that they should presently become nuns, and this was not to be till they were six or seven years old.

VI. No one should work at making anything unless at the wish of a senior.

VII. No nun was to have a box or cupboard where she could secrete any private things, nor were they to consider any particular cell as their own, nor choose for themselves which cell they would have.

VIII. They should never speak with a loud voice (Ephesians iv.). Nor was it allowed them to talk or work while singing the psalms.

IX. No nun was to be a godmother to any child, rich or poor.

X. If a nun came late to prayers or to her hours after the summons, she was to be reproved, and for a second or third offence was to be excluded from communion (*a communione*) and from entertainments.

XI. If any nun were corrected or beaten because of a fault, she was not to complain, and if she did so she was to be excluded from table or from prayers.

XII. Those who were engaged in cooking were to be allowed to drink a little wine. All the sisters were to work at their menial duties in turn, except the abbess and the prioress.

XIII. At vigils, in order not to be overcome by sleep, they might work at something which did not distract their prayers, or stand up instead of sitting.

XIV. When wool-working, each was to receive the daily portion of wool allotted to her with humility, and to be strenuous at her work.

XV. No one should have any private property either in clothes or anything else.

XVI. There was to be no grumbling, for which injunction Philemon 2 was quoted; all must obey the Mother, next to God, and after her the prioresses. When they were seated at table they were to be silent and listen to the reader. If it was necessary to speak it must be in a whisper. When the reader had finished they were to meditate.

XVII. They must all learn to read, and spend two hours a day, from early morning till the second hour, in reading.

XVIII. The rest of the day they must work and not gossip, and only talk for the purpose of edification or the necessities of work; otherwise, when at work, one of the sisters was to read to them for an hour until tierce.

XIX. If any one on joining the community had some possessions she was humbly to give them up to the Mother for the common good. Those who had nothing were not to try and appropriate any in the nunnery. Those who were better off on entering the monastery were not to give themselves airs over their poorer sisters, but all were to treat each other as equals and in a sisterly way.

XX. When singing hymns and psalms they must think of the words as well as of the music, and they should meditate on the Scriptures during their work. The sick were to use every effort for speedy recovery, and on regaining their strength were to revert to their ascetic mode of living.

XXI. None of them (instigated by the devil) should look at men with lustful eyes, nor indulge in impure thoughts.

XXII. If a nun noticed another sister behaving indiscreetly she ought to reprove her privately; if this did not suffice she was to report the fact to the Mother, nor should she be deemed to have done wrong by the others for doing so. It was wrong to remain silent when conscious of a sister erring. This involved sharing her offence. It was better she should be punished in her body than that her heart should suffer.

XXIII. If a sister secretly received letters or presents from any one and it was found out, she was to be reported and punished. Similarly if she sent letters or presents. If she wished to send something to a relative, she must get proper authority and then dispatch it through the janitress or gatekeeper.

XXIV. It was right, as was attested by Proverbs xxiii. and Eccl. xxx., that nuns who engaged in quarrels or altercations, or

stole things, or struck each other, "all which acts was almost incredible," should be punished.

XXV. The stock of woollen clothes for the nuns was to be kept by the prioress and dispensed by her as was necessary.

XXVI. There was to be no contention or jealousy among them about their clothes. If any had extra clothes given them on account of sickness they were to be returned to the *registria* (nun in charge of the wardrobes).

XXVII. No one was to engage in any work not specially authorised : they were not to work in private but in company.

XXVIII. The cellarer, the janitress, and the keeper of the wardrobe were to be selected not to please any one, but because of her fitness and in view of the common good. No sister was to have either food or drink by her bedside. No one was to secretly keep wine nor to have a gift made of it, but if sick she was to be supplied with it by those in charge of the duty. In such cases, if the monastery did not produce wine of good quality, the abbess was to obtain it, so that those who were ill or delicate should not suffer.

XXIX. Baths were not to be forbidden to the sick, and were to be used by them without murmuring when ordered by the doctor. Whether sick or well they must obey the senior in this matter, and not have their whims indulged.

XXX. In order to take care of the sick or feeble, some one who was faithful and gentle should be chosen, who should obtain from the cellarer whatever was necessary for them, and they should also have a separate cook and cellarer if possible. The cellarer should have charge of the stores of wool, the clothes, books, and food, and should undertake by swearing on the Gospels to fulfil her duties faithfully and without murmuring, and if any of them used or stored her clothes, shoes, or utensils carelessly, she was to be duly punished.

XXXI. They were not to indulge in quarrels, and any one who injured a sister was to be punished, and if she persisted in her evil ways she was to live in a secluded place, in charge of a sister and be put under discipline. The prioress who had charge of the discipline of the convent was to use moderation in her rebukes, and not to be exacting in reprobating small faults, but to leave their punishment to God.

XXXII. They were to obey their "Mother" and the prioress who was set over them without murmuring. And they were to exercise their discipline with charity and consideration, and to

aim at strengthening the weak, correcting the timid, and fortifying the uneasy and nervous.

XXXIII. Above all things, in order to preserve their good name, no man should enter the secluded part of the nunnery or its chapels except the bishop, the provisor, the priest, deacon and sub-deacon, and one or two readers of mature age who should perform the services. When, however, the roofs and the doors or windows were being repaired, and workmen were needed for this or similar work, they might enter with the consent of the abbess, otherwise no man was to be admitted.

XXXIV. Secular matrons or girls and men in lay costume were not to enter the nunnery.

XXXV. When the abbess went to the reception room to receive salutations she was to be accompanied by two or three sisters in order to preserve her dignity. If bishops, abbots, or other important "religious" wished to enter the chapel to pray, they might do so. The gates of the monastery were to be opened at opportune times.

XXXVI. No nun was to be present at meals with bishops, abbots, monks, clerks, secular men or women or similar visitors, nor with the relatives of the abbess, either inside or outside the monastery, nor was the bishop of the diocese nor the provisor to hold a feast there. Religious women from the city possessing considerable social position were only very rarely to be admitted; but if some one came from another city and wished to see the nunnery, or to see her daughter, and was a religious person, she might, with the consent of the abbess, be present at a meal.

XXXVII. If any nun wished to see a sister or a daughter or other relative she was to ask permission, and such permission was not to be denied to her.

XXXVIII. The abbess, unless on account of some infirmity or some pressing occupation, was not to go outside the boundary (*extra congregacionem penitus non reficiatur*).

XXXIX. The abbess and prioress as well as the cellarer were especially enjoined that their most pressing function was to cherish and look after the sick and infirm, and to see that they were indulged in what was necessary for them and in the relaxation of all rules which pressed upon them.

XL. This Rule contains minute instructions about the methods of dispensing the clothes to the nuns, and replacing old ones by new ones, etc. etc. The only interesting provision in it is that which provides that these clothes were to be simple

and of inconspicuous colour, neither black nor white, but cream-coloured or of the colour of the wool, and were to be made in the monastery under the guidance of the prioress or "laundry-maid" and distributed by the Mother of the monastery as required.

XLI. The beds were to have simple coverlets and not coloured or flowered ones; no silver ornaments were to be used in the monastery save in the services.

XLII. Feather-work and embroidery and silk or coloured or decorated vesture were to be excluded from nunneries; the materials of the nuns' dresses were to be simple. The only ornaments on them were to be crosses, which were to be black or cream-coloured, and made of cloth or linen; nor were veils ornamented with wax nor painted tablets to be used, nor were the walls of the nunnery nor the cells to have any pictures on them. In the dwellings of nuns things should be looked at with spiritual and not merely human eyes. If any such forbidden things were presented to the nunnery they were to be sold for the benefit of the community or transferred to the Basilica. Embroidery was only to be allowed on horsecloths and napkins, and when the abbess permitted it. On no account were they without the consent of the abbess to wash or mend or store or dye the clothes of clerics or laics or relatives, nor of strange men and women, lest the good fame of the monastery should suffer.

XLIII. This concluding clause was addressed to the abbess and prioress, and especially enjoined them not to relax their vigilance in consequence of threats or blandishments or other cause.

In addition to the Rules as just set out, Cæsarius also prepared an epitome or recapitulation. In this some additional provisions are contained to make those already named more clear. *Inter alia*, the assignation of a particular cell to any nun was forbidden in order to prevent her from secretly receiving visitors, either men or women, nor was she ever to speak alone nor to correspond secretly with a man, even a relative. They were not to use any clothes of a bright colour, as white or black or beaver-coloured (*bebrina*), nor were they to bind up their hair very high. They were to do all their work in company and not alone.

The long fast from Pentecost to the kalends of September was to be tempered by the abbess in the way she deemed wise. From the kalends of September to those of November, the second, fourth, and sixth days were to be fast days. From the kalends of November to Christmas day all the days were to be fast days except the festivals and Saturdays. There was to be a fast of

seven days before Epiphany. From Epiphany to Quadragesima week, the fourth and sixth days were to be fasts. The vigils of Easter and Epiphany were to be kept until daylight.

In regard to food. During fast days it was to be partaken of three times daily. At breakfast only two dishes apiece. On the great festivals certain dishes were to be added at breakfast. On other days in summer and in autumn two only were to be then provided, at supper three dishes. The younger nuns were to have two dishes at all their meals. Meat was never to be eaten unless a nun was desperately ill, and it was so ordered; only the sick were to be allowed fowls. They were to remember their founder Cæsarius in all their prayers, public and private, so that he might rule the church wisely, and for themselves that they should follow the vocation of pious virgins faithfully. Lastly, they must take care never to leave open the door of the old baptistery, or the "schola," the weaving-room, or the turret near the orchard, nor should any of them presume to open them without leave.

On the death of an abbess no one should support a candidate for the post on the grounds of her relationship, etc. etc., but only because she would rule the convent wisely and prudently. Cæsarius bade them keep the Rule he had given them in its minutest injunctions and with all their strength, and if the abbess or the prioress should at any time, "which God forbid," endeavour to relax it, they were to resist her, and to bring her before himself for punishment. If any sister should prove recalcitrant, she must be removed to a penitential cell and not be allowed to return till she agreed to conform.

It has been remarked about these Rules that they are very meticulous and careful of small things, and exact an extravagant austerity far removed from the wise moderation of St. Benedict's Rules. They doubtless, however, formed the substantial part of the administrative Rules of most of the French nunneries, and were perhaps needed when morals were generally very loose.¹ Let us now turn shortly to the Celtic nunneries.

The most interesting form which Monasticism took at this time was that of the double monasteries. On this subject Mr. H. B. Workman has written some paragraphs which I cannot improve upon and will take the liberty of borrowing. He traces the practice back to the Agapetæ, "female Christian ascetics who lived together with men, though both parties had taken the

¹ Migne, *Pat.*, vol. lxxvii. pp. 1105 and ff.

vows of celibacy. These spiritual marriages—possibly in origin an attempt to substitute brotherly love for marriage—were very common with the Valentinians, Montanists, and Eucratites, and in the third and fourth century were held in favour also in the Catholic Church, as also with the early saints of the Celtic Church. From such spiritual marriages, designed as an aid in subduing the flesh, the step to concubinage was but slight. By the sixth century the worst construction was put by both populace and Church upon all such connections, and every effort was made to stamp them out.”¹ These Agapetæ, however, were only the incipient stages of a movement which blossomed in the later double monasteries. The title, says Workman, goes back to the time of Justinian. In these monasteries the Abbess ruled over the men, and a society of regular priests administered to the spiritual needs of regular women. “At the very rise of monasticism, we find the sister of Pachomius establishing a community of nuns on the other side of the Nile opposite to her brother’s monasteries; while St. Basil and his sister Macrina presided over settlements of men and women, separated only by the river Iris. Though prohibited by the Council of Agde in Languedoc, and by Justinian, the system of double monasteries flourished.” Bede implies the existence of one in Rome (*Monachum quendam de vicino Virginum monasterio nomine Andream*),² while S. Radegunda was head of a famous Frankish double monastery at Poictiers.” Thus before the arrival of Columbanus double monasteries flourished in Gaul, while after his arrival, we note the rise of some of the largest and most famous, though none of them owed their origin to the saint himself. “Examples,” says Workman, “are Remiremont, Soissons, Jouarre, Brie, Chelles, and Andelys; the last three were especially favoured by English ladies.”³ St. Boniface introduced the feature in Germany, where the establishments were in several cases presided over by nuns trained at Wimborne.”⁴

From the first they flourished in the Celtic Church, perhaps because they were a survival of the old Clan system, when men and women alike belonged to the same religious community. In Ireland the head of such monasteries was usually a man, as the head of the Clan was; but in the Scoto-Irish monasteries of England, especially in those founded by royal princesses and in Columban’s double monasteries in Gaul and Belgium, the

¹ Workman, *Evolution of Monasticism*, 62.

² *H.E.*, iv. 1.

³ Bede, *H.E.*, iii. 8.

⁴ Workman, *op. cit.* 177 and 178.

monastery of clerks or priests, which was generally placed at the gate of the nunnery, was ruled over by the abbess. This singular inversion of the normal relationship was due probably to the fact that in such cases the real centre or original foundation was the nunnery, but that for the spiritual needs of the nuns as well as for the oversight of their lands and estates, there grew up a smaller dependent monastery of priests and lay brethren. But in some monasteries the monks were in a majority.¹

Archbishop Theodore in some of his Canons forbids any new foundations of this description, though forced to recognise those that already existed. But his regulations were disregarded, and new double monasteries, e.g. Wimborne, were founded after his death. What the Archbishop could not do, the Danes accomplished by their general destruction of the monastic life of England at the end of the ninth century, though on the Continent we find double monasteries existing until late in the eleventh century. Among the double monasteries in England, Bardney, Barking, Ely, Whitby, and Coldingham are mentioned by Bede: others existed at Wimborne, Repton, Wenlock, Wimborne, Nuneaton, and perhaps Carlisle.²

As in later times, the Anglo-Saxon nunneries were of two kinds. In one of these classes the inmates consisted chiefly, if not entirely, of royal and noble ladies, who, for different reasons, sought them or were put in them by their parents. Among them rigid asceticism was often disregarded. They were, in fact, cultivated homes, generally safe from outrage in very rough times, where fathers put redundant daughters for whom husbands could not be found, and unhappy wives and lonely widows consorted with those of their class and devoted themselves to church embroidery, copying and illuminating MSS., reading poetry, learning Latin and probably also French. These grand ladies were dressed in rich habits, the costly character of which was supposed to be atoned for by their orthodox patterns. The moralists of the time inveigh against such aristocratic nuns.

Aldhelm attacks the luxurious costumes of some of the inmates of both sexes in the nunnery at Barking, and notably of certain abbesses and nuns who wore a fine linen undervest of violet and over it a scarlet tunic with wide sleeves and hoods and cuffs trimmed with furs or silk, who curled their hair with a hot iron all round their foreheads, while golden ornaments in the shape of crescents encircled their necks, and who changed their veils into a

¹ Workman, *op. cit.* 178-79.

² *Ib.* 179 and note.

head-covering fastened with coloured ribbons which hung down to their feet. Others sharpened and bent their nails like the claws of falcons, wore shoes of red leather, and used *stibium* with which to paint their face.¹ These were of course exceptional cases, but they no doubt had a tendency to grow where the inmates adopted the veil for other motives than to pass an ascetic life. The normal conditions prevailing in nunneries at this time are well described in the life of an Anglo-Saxon nun named Leoba, who went from Wimborne to found a nunnery at Bischoffsheim in Germany, and which was written by Ralph of Fulda.

He says "there were two monasteries at Wimborne, formerly erected by the kings of the country, which were surrounded by strong and lofty walls and endowed with competent revenues. Of these, one was designed for clerks, the other for females, but neither (for such was the law of their foundation) was ever entered by any individual of the other sex. No woman could obtain permission to come into the monastery of the men; none of the men to come into the convent of the women, with the exception of the priests who entered to perform the mass, and withdrew the minute the service was over. If a female, desirous of quitting the world, asked to be admitted among the sisterhood, she could obtain her request, be she who she might, on this condition only, that she should never seek to go out unless it were on some extraordinary occasion which might seem to justify such indulgence. Even the abbess herself, if it were necessary that she should receive advice or give orders, spoke to men through a window; and so desirous was Leoba to remove all opportunity of conversation between the sisters and persons of the other sex, that she refused entrance into the convent, not only to laymen and clergymen, but even to the bishops themselves."² Bede, in speaking of the monastery of Barking in Essex, mentions the plague as raging in that part of the building occupied by the men "before it reached that other part where a crowd of the maidens of God lived."³

The first English nun who is recorded was Æthelberga, the daughter of King Æthelberht, who, on the death of her husband Ædwin, king of Northumbria, in 633, returned to Kent, where she founded a small nunnery at Lyminge, doubtless based on the

¹ *De laudibus Virg.*, 307 and 364.

² *Vit. S. Leobae*. See Lingard, *Aug. Sax. Church*, i. 213 and 214.

³ *Qua ancillarum Dei caterva a virorum erat secreta contubernio*, p. 214, note 1.

pattern of those in Gaul. There she took the veil, and there she died in 647.¹ She was a friend and perhaps a relation of King Dagobert.

Not long afterwards her niece Eanswitha, the daughter of King Eadbald, founded another small nunnery at Folkestone, doubtless of the same type, and of which she became the abbess.² Two popular tales are told of her—namely, that she tamed flocks of wild geese which spoilt her harvests, some of which her servants stole from her poultry yard and ate, to her great displeasure. Secondly, with the tip of her crozier she dug a canal to bring a stream of fresh water which was needed for the monastery, and which was miraculously made to run uphill from Swilton, a mile from Folkestone.³ A fragment of her Office is still extant and was published by the Bollandists, showing that her nunnery must have lived long. The church which she built, and which was overwhelmed by the Danes, was rebuilt by John de Segrave and his wife Juliana de Sandwich in the thirteenth century, and was then dedicated to St. Peter and St. Eanswitha.⁴

A leaden reliquary containing some of her bones is preserved at Folkestone.⁵

The next venture, in the same way, was made in Northumbria by Heiu. The name has not an English look, and it may well be that she was of Celtic origin—perhaps a Briton from Elmet in West Yorkshire. Bede says she was the first woman in Northumbria who was reputed to have been a nun, and adds that she was veiled and consecrated by Bishop Aidan.⁶ She founded a nunnery about 650 at a place called Heruteu, which Bede explains as meaning the island of the hart,⁷ but which really means Hartwater. Florence of Worcester calls it Heortesig.⁸ It is now known as Hartlepool.

Soon afterwards Heiu retired to Calcaria (which, says Bede, was called Kaelcacaestir by the Anglians), and there dwelt.⁹ She left her Hartlepool nunnery in charge of Hilda. Calcaria is represented by the modern Tadcaster, about six miles from York. Conterminous with the parish of Tadcaster, says Father D. Haigh, is the chapelry of Healaugh (anciently Helegh, and still pronounced Heeley); Healaugh Hall, close to the river; and Healaugh Manor, on the site of an ancient priory, about two miles

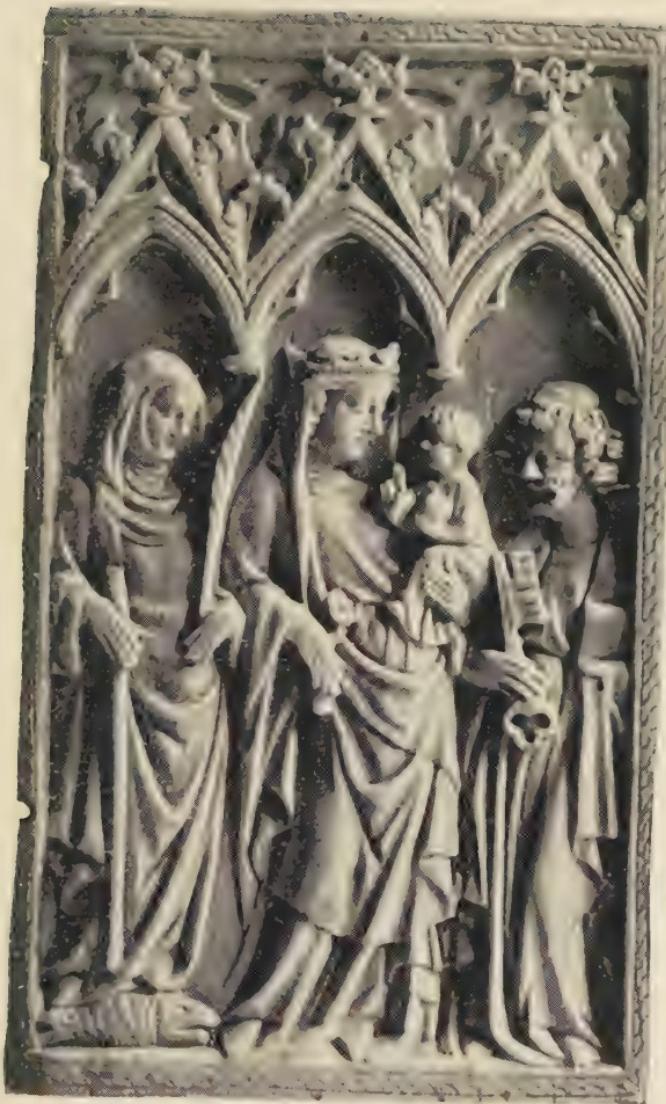
¹ *Vide* Howorth, *St. Augustine of Canterbury*, 329–32.

² *Ib.* 333–34. ³ Hardy, *Cat.*, i. pp. 228, 229, and 382.

⁴ Montalembert, *Engl. ed.*, v. 258.

⁵ I gave a picture of it in my volume on *Augustine the Missionary*, p. 334.

⁶ *Bede*, iv. 23. ⁷ *Ib.* iii. 24. ⁸ *M.H.B.*, 531. ⁹ *Op. cit.* iv. 23.



IVORY TABLET COMMEMORATING ST. EANSWITHA.

[*Vol. III., facing p. 186.*

north by east. He explains the name Healaugh as meaning the domain subject to the jurisdiction of Heiu, and adds that "it is not improbable that the chapel, to the north-east of which there are extensive remains as well as the priory, stands on the sites of earlier buildings of St. Heiu's monastery. In the course of digging a vault in the cemetery at Healaugh many years ago, a broken tombstone was found six feet below the surface. The design is very peculiar, consisting of a composition of circles, all scratched slightly with a compass and a cross roughly formed by triple lines. The inscription gives two names thus disposed

M A	H E
D V G	V

"The name to the left is certainly Celtic, either British or Scotic. Several churches in Wales are dedicated to St. Madoc, while a Maedhog died Bishop of Ferns in A.D. 632.

"The name to the right wants but one letter to correspond with the one to the left and to complete the name Heiu, and the stone is broken away where this should be." It seems to me that Father Haigh has made out a conclusive case, and that this cross can only be that of Abbess Heiu.¹ Its primitive style also points to the seventh century, and we may reasonably conclude that Abbess Heiu was buried at Hartlepool.

Let us now turn to another and more famous nun, who succeeded Heiu as Abbess of Heruteu. Bede says that Hilda or Hild was nobly born and was the daughter of Hereric, the nephew (*nepos*²) of King Ædwin. Her mother was called Bregusuid or Bersuitha. Hereric for some unexplained reason lived as an exile with Cerdic, the British chief of the district of Elmet (near Leeds). Probably, like the rest of the royal family of Deira, he had been exiled by Æthelfrid, king of Bernicia, and it was perhaps at the instance of the latter that, as Bede tells us, he was poisoned while at Elmet. Upon this, his widow doubtless returned to Deira, taking with her her daughter Hilda and the latter's elder sister Heresuitha. Bede tells us that when Hilda was still a child, her mother Bregusuid had a dream in which it seemed as if she was looking diligently for her husband Hereric, but could not find him anywhere. Having exhausted all her ingenuity in the search, she suddenly found a most precious jewel under her garment, which while she was looking

¹ See *Yorks. Arch. and Top. Society's Journal*, vol. iii. pp. 363-65.

² Both Father Haigh and Mr. Plummer agree that the dates compel us to translate *nepos* here by nephew and not by grandson.

on it very attentively cast such a light that it spread itself throughout all Britain, which dream, says Bede, was brought to pass in her daughter, whose life was such an example to all who wished to live well.¹ He adds that Hilda died in the year 680 at the age of sixty-six.² She must therefore have been born in 614. She was probably baptized by Paulinus at York, with King Ædwin and the rest of his family.³ According to Florence, who is followed by Plummer of Worcester, Heresuitha married Æthelhere, the brother of Anna, king of East Anglia. I am now disposed to think this is a mistake. Æthelhere was a pagan, and the *Liber Eliensis* distinctly makes her the wife of Anna, as Smith does in his notes to chapter v. of Bede's *H.E.* She apparently left him before his death, since Bede expressly says she was living in a monastery in 647, and Anna was then still king. Nennius calls Æthelhere, Edric,⁴ which is confirmed by the genealogy in the *Textus Roffensis*, which calls him Ætherric. Haigh urges that this form is right.⁵ By her husband she became the mother of Aldwulf, afterwards king of the East Angles.⁶ Heresuitha was apparently the first distinguished East Anglian lady to enter a Frankish monastery. Bede says this was the monastery of "Cale" (*i.e.* Chelles),⁷ but he must have mistaken the name, for that establishment was not founded till 662. Presently the French nunneries became famous resorts of English ladies. Bede expressly says: *Multi de Britannia monachicae conversationis gratia, Francorum vel Galliarum monasteria adire solebant; sed et filias suas eisdem erudiendas, ac sponso caelesti copulandas mittebant.*⁸

Let us return to Hilda. We do not hear anything of her after her baptism till she was thirty-three years old, when she determined to adopt a religious life. Bede, as Haigh says, never calls her a virgin as he does her successor, and he thinks it extraordinary if in those times she reached the age of thirty-three without marriage or religious consecration, and therefore argues that in 647 she was a widow.⁹

Attracted by the reputation of the French nunneries, she made up her mind to join her sister in one of them. She set out thither; but if Bede's words are to be taken literally, she did not actually go to France, but apparently to East Anglia. She

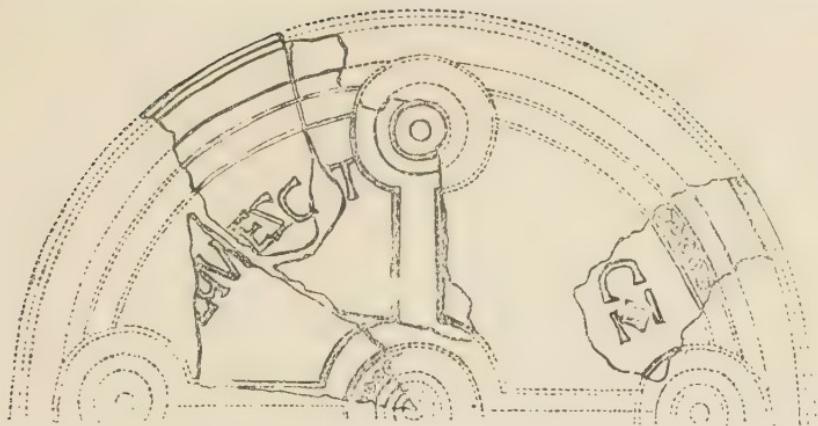
¹ *Op. cit.* iv. 23. ² *Ib.* ³ See Howorth, *Augustine the Missionary*, 262.

⁴ *M.H.B.*, 75. ⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 352. ⁶ See Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 244.

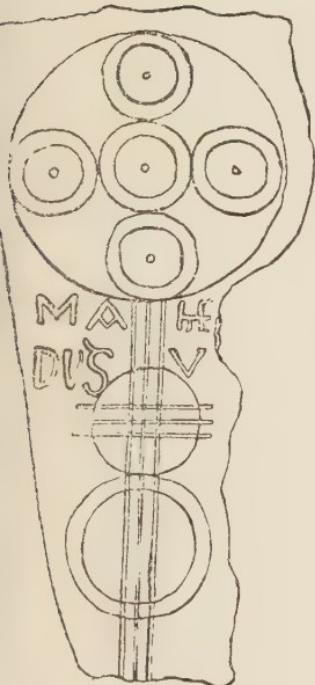
⁷ This was a Royal city on the Marne, described as about 100 stadia from Paris. Bercen Bathildis built a nunnery there (*M.H.B.*, 180, note).

⁸ Bede, *H.E.*, iii. 8.

⁹ *Op. cit.* 354.



This fragment was found with the others at Hartlepool. The only remains of the inscription read ". . .] equiesci[ti]t [hoc lo]co." To whom it was erected we do not know, but it belongs to the same time.



MEMORIAL OF HEIU.



MONUMENT OF BREGUSUID, MOTHER OF ST. HILDA.



CROSS OF HILDITHRYTH, OR ST. HILDA.

[Vol. III., facing p. 188.]



CROSS OF HILDEGYTH.

[*Vol. III., facing p. 183.*

did not stay there long, however: twelve months later she was summoned home again to Northumbria by St. Aidan. There she accepted the gift of a piece of land sufficient to maintain a family. This is called a *hiwscipe* (and not, as usual, a hide) in the Anglo-Saxon translation of Bede. She lived a secluded life for a year with some companions, and, as we have seen, moved to Hartlepool when Heiu went to Tadcaster. There she began to put things in order and to introduce a Rule. She had the help of learned men, and was frequently visited by Bishop Aidan.¹ In the year 653, while she was at Hartlepool, King Oswy, who had dedicated his little daughter Ælfleda (then only a year old) to God, in case he should defeat Penda in the battle of the Winwæd, put the latter in charge of Hilda, who thus became her foster-mother.² At the same time he made over to the Church twelve small portions of land (*duodecim possessiunculis errartum*, called twelve boclands in the A.S. translation), six of which were in Deira and six in Bernicia. Each of these portions contained ten families (*i.e.* consisted of ten hides), making one hundred and twenty in all. Bede implies that the king intended twelve monasteries to be built on these twelve portions of land.³

Before pursuing the career of Hilda in another sphere, it will be convenient to collect some interesting and not too familiar notes on some of the earlier inmates of the monastery at Hartlepool. The site of what was no doubt its cemetery was accidentally discovered in 1833 in digging some foundations for houses in a field called the "Cross field," probably from a monumental cross once standing there, and situated about 135 yards south-east of the ruins of the Friary (additional traces were found in 1838 and 1843). At the depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the surface, several skeletons, male and female, of tall stature were found lying in rows on the surface of the limestone rock in a direction north and south. Small flat stones from five to six inches square were placed under their heads as if they were pillows. Other stones marked with crosses and inscribed were found with some of them. Nine of these latter are known, but it is possible there may have been others which were lost. The crosses in question are incised on the small slabs of stone, and, as may be seen from the plate, are in simple taste. They generally resemble Irish crosses of the same type and workmanship. They were first figured by Father Haigh in a paper in the *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. i. pp. 193–195.

¹ Bede, iv. ch. 23.

² Ib. iii. 24.

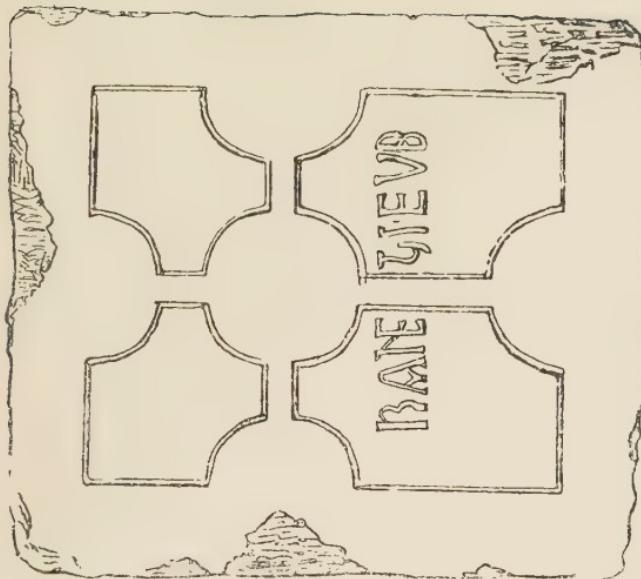
³ Op. cit. iii. 24.

One of the crosses was of a very peculiar form, each limb being graced with a glory such as is found round the heads of holy personages on some early Northumbrian carvings and coins. "The inscription below the transom of the cross," says Haigh, "is . . . *guguid* (certainly for *gusuid*; *suid* or *suith* is very common as the final element in the names of women, while *guid* or *guith* never occurs)." The first letters of the name have weathered away, but as Haigh, a most experienced judge in such matters, says, there is no possibility of restoring what is lost so as to get a true Anglian name other than *Bregusuid*. With this stone were found two skeletons, the head of each resting on a plain stone about five inches square. The stone here described, says Haigh, is apparently the earliest of the series. "It is undoubtedly the memorial of Bregusuid, the mother of Hilda." She is called Beorhtsuith by Florence of Worcester, and Bertcsuid in the *Liber Vitæ*. Above the transom are some detached letters. The whole when complete is certainly to be read (Ora)te p(ro) Bregusuid.

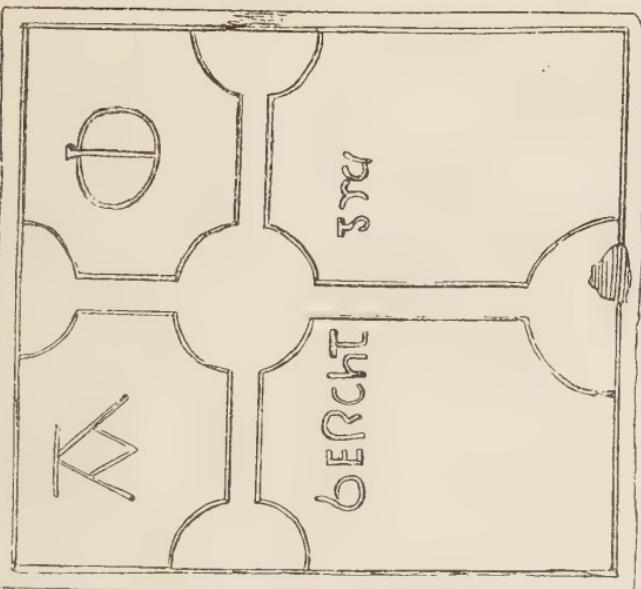
We will now turn to two other stones, which, like the one just described, are much larger than the rest. One of these bears the name Hildithryth in runes, which Haigh identifies as the grave-stone of St. Hilda herself. He argues that *Hilda* is really not a complete name. As in other cases, such as Cutha for Cuthwulf in the *Eng. Chron.*, Cuana for Conrad in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, and Leoba for St. Leobgyth, one of St. Boniface's disciples, and at one time a nun at Wimborne, the first syllable has been similarly used in the case of Hild instead of her full name.

I would add to Haigh's arguments another which strikes me as very forcible, namely, that Hild was the name of the goddess of war among the pagan Saxons, and an individual would hardly be named after the goddess without some qualifying particle.

Haigh accordingly argues that the name of Hildithryth, which occurs on one of the two bigger stones just mentioned, was really St. Hilda's full name. He mentions that in the famous *Liber Vitæ* now at Durham, one section of which he claims to have been compiled at Lindisfarne in the latter half of the ninth century and which contains a list of the most famous saints and saintly people in the north who had been benefactors of the monastery, the name of Hild or Hilda does not occur alone, but only in such forms as Hildithryth, Wulfhild, Tidhild, Hildiberht, Hildiwald, etc., and he says very conclusively that the name of the great abbess of Heruteu and Strenaeshalh would certainly not have been omitted from its list of queens and abbesses. Now it is



MEMORIAL OF KANE GUT(7).



CROSS OF BERTHGYD.

[Vol. III., facing p. 190.]

very curious that while the name of Hild or Hilda does not occur in it, the name of Hildithryth, which is not recorded in that form by Bede or elsewhere in early literature, does occur.

I would add still another argument to the strong ones made use of by Haigh. Bede, in speaking of the famous people who had been interred at Whitby, does not mention St. Hilda at all, which is incredible if she had been buried there, and it is indeed almost certain that she was buried beside her mother at her own early foundation at Hartlepool, and that her full name was Hildiðryth.

On another stone there is another similar name also in runes (*i.e.* Hilddigyth), doubtless representing some distinguished nun or abbess otherwise unrecorded. The name is one of a series of five which occurs twice in the *Liber Vitæ*.

Let us now turn to another of the larger gravestones, which is inscribed with the name Berchtgyth. It seems probable that when Hilda removed to her new foundation at Whitby, Berchtgyth took her place at Hartlepool. That she was connected by a close tie with the two abbesses commemorated on the other larger gravestones is more than suggested by the fact that in the *Liber Vitæ* the three names Berchtsuið, Hildithryth, and Berchtgyth follow each other.

Haigh identifies this last abbess with a Berthgyth whose letters written to her brother Balthard are preserved in the great collection of the letters of Boniface.¹ In the first one she speaks of her affection for her brother, and how she was left alone and deprived of the help of her kindred. "My father and mother," she says, "have left me, but God has taken care of me." "Many gatherings of the water are between me and thee; let us, however, be united in love which knows no special locality. I implore thee, dearest brother, either to come to me, or to contrive that I may come to thee, so that I may see thee before I die." In the second letter she acknowledges the receipt of a letter and of presents from Balthard which had been brought to her by a certain Aldred who was taking back her reply. She again urges him to go and see her. "When I hear of and see others going to their friends, I remember how I was abandoned by my relatives when I was young and remained alone. Yet God did not desert me. If thou wouldest come and see me I would remain contentedly where I am; otherwise I shall return to my relatives." She ends her letter by saying she was sending him a small gift, namely a *witta* (?). There is a third letter extant

¹ Ed. E. Dümmler, Nos. 147 and 148.

in which neither her name nor that of her brother occurs. It is in the same querulous tone, and was obviously written by the same writer. In this she calls herself *ultima ancillarum Dei*.¹ The Magdeburg Centuriators have identified this Balthard with one who became Abbot of Hersfeld in Germany and died in 796.²

On another of the stones at Hartlepool is a name read Kanegut by Haigh, of which I can make nothing. No name like it occurs in the *Liber Vitæ*, and it seems to me to have been misread. Father Haigh associates it with a name occurring in one of Boniface's letters which he reads Kanegnub. This will not pass, however. The latter name is not Kanegnub but really Kuniburga, as it is written in Dümmler's edition of the correspondence.

Three other names occur on two other of these small stones, all of men—namely, Edilwini, Wermund, and Torhtsid.³ I have discussed these on another page.

Let us now return to the Abbess Hilda. About the year 658 she undertook to build a more stately monastery at a place called Streoneshalch. Bede gives an etymology of this name which has greatly exercised the philologists, and they are agreed that the meaning he gives is quite an impossible one—namely, *sinus-phari*, or the bay of the lighthouse. My friend the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, who wrote the history of Cleveland, and was a trustworthy scholar, considered *Streone* to be a personal name, and translated *halc* by hall or hollow. “The name Dimuldehale occurs in the Whitby register, but it cannot be identified. Strensall near York may also be compared with it.”⁴ It has been suggested that Hilda's choice of a site was inspired by the taste of her Scotic teachers from Iona, who preferred a solitary coast and its islands to the secluded valleys and lonely rustic places more generally chosen as sites for religious houses at a later time, and in which she was imitating St. Aidan at Lindisfarne and St. Cuthbert at Farne Island. The site was in any case a splendid one, the first to be seen by seamen when returning home, and the last they would miss in leaving it, while the lights from its windows must often have served them for a beacon.

The monastery, like many other foundations of the time,

¹ Ed. E. Dümmler, No. 143.

² *Ib.* p. 428, note 2. ³ *Yorks. Arch. and Top. Journal*, iii. pp. 364-70.

⁴ Murray's *Yorkshire*, ed. 1874, p. 214. Stopford Brooke says: “*Streon* is not an English word, or this is the only place where it occurs; and *healh* or *hah* is a word of doubtful meaning, and when it seems to occur in the charters has never the meaning of angle or bay or corner” (*Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, 66, note 1).

was a double one for men and women, she herself, "Mother Hilda," as they called her, presiding over both. In this and in other respects its life and discipline were no doubt like those of other Celtic monasteries. Bede says that her new monastery was placed by Hilda under a strict Rule, where the rigid observance of justice and piety, charity and other virtues, was enacted, and particularly that of peace and love, "so that, after the manner of the primitive church, no one there was rich and no one poor, *none having any property but all having their wealth in common.*" Her wisdom and prudence were so famed, says Bede, that kings and princes sometimes sought her advice; and so skilled were her pupils in Scripture and the ways of justice that many of them were fit to undertake ecclesiastical duties and even to serve at the altar. Five bishops, in fact, were trained in her monastery—namely, Bosa, Ætla, John, Wilfrid the second, and Oftfor. The first became Bishop of York, the second Bishop of Dorchester the third, fourth, and fifth secured the sees of Hexham and that of York; while the last, Oftfor, having devoted himself to learning in the Abbess Hilda's two monasteries first, went to Kent, where he studied for a while under Archbishop Theodore, then on to Rome, and returning again, presided over the province of the Hwiccas (*i.e.* Worcestershire).¹

A much humbler but far more famous person who was a protégé of St. Hilda and a scholar in her monastery was Cædmon, the first English poet of whom we have any record. We shall have more to say about him in the third appendix.

The abbey of Streoneshalch also became a famous burial-place for great people. In its church of St. Peter there lay, says Bede, King Ædwin, King Oswy, his wife Æanfled and their daughter Ælfleda, and many other grandees,² all of whose remains were doubtless destroyed in the pitiless attack of the Danes two centuries later. No trace of the remains of St. Hilda's famous monastery remains except a rubbish heap where the old monks put their broken pots and other debris. Father Haigh thus describes it: "On the upper shelves of the cliff, the deposit consisted of birds' bones, and oyster, whelk, and periwinkle shells; among which was found a comb with a runic inscription, a second comb with two sets of teeth finely cut, and a large number of bones of skulls of oxen, sheep, and goats, and horns of deer and tusks of swine, three pot-hooks of iron, a double meat-hook, a hoe, a scraper of iron, a small shovel, half a glass bead, some

¹ Bede, iv. 23.

² Ib. iii. 24.

broken coarse pottery, a spindle whorl, an ink-horn, two "styles" of bone for writing on wax tablets, and lastly, and most important of all, a leaden bulla inscribed BONIFACII on one side and ARCHIDIAC on the other. This has been identified with great probability with a bulla attached to some document issued at Rome by St. Wilfrid's friend, Archdeacon Boniface.¹

The most notable event in the history of the abbey was the famous synod which took its name from it, which met there in the year 664, and at which Abbess Hilda was present. There she is reported to have taken sides against the Roman party and in favour of the Celtic view on the great question of the right time for celebrating Easter. I have described the synod at length in an earlier page.² In my account, I ventured to suggest that Agatho, who was present there as chaplain to Bishop Agilberht, was very probably the well-known Pope of the name. I find that this view, which I thought had not been urged before, had already occurred to Father Haigh. His words are: "We must believe . . . that this Agatho is no other than he who was raised to the chair of St. Peter in 678. At the time of the synod no doubt he would be one of the leading clergy of Rome, and his coming to the synod with Agilbert suggests a probability almost amounting to certainty that they were entrusted with a special mission from Rome to endeavour to bring the Northumbrian Church into conformity."³ The fact of Pope Agatho having been present at this synod would explain the complacent attitude adopted by him towards Wilfrid after he became Pope.

When the synod at Whitby had finally decided the question discussed there, the Abbess Hilda, like Bishop Ceadda, acquiesced in its decision. She also took the side of Archbishop Theodore against Wilfrid, and joined with him in the appeal to Rome against him.⁴

We cannot avoid the thought, as we follow her career, that through the medium of the Church, women were able to fill much more potent and influential rôles in the world's economy in the seventh century than might be supposed from the rough times in which they lived. She was certainly one of the most notable women in history. At length her strength broke down.

¹ Haigh, *Yorks. Arch. and Top. Soc. Journ.*, iii. 370 and 371, where a figure of the bulla is given.

² *Ante*, i. 185–196.

³ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, iii. 355.

⁴ See Æddi, *op. cit.* ch. 54.

Bede describes her as suffering from a kind of recurrent fever, which came back annually for six years, and which at length overwhelmed her. Summoning her handmaidens at cock-crowing, she passed away while she was exhorting them; and the same night, Bede tells us, her death was revealed by a kind of second sight in another monastery she had built that very year at Hacanos (*i.e.* Hackness, near Whitby). There was at the time a certain nun called Begu, or Bega, who had been in religion for thirty years. She was asleep in the dormitory of the sisters at Hackness when suddenly she heard a well-known sound in the air of the bell which was wont to awaken them for prayers when any of them was removed from the world, and opening her eyes, she fancied she saw the roof of the house open and a river of light pour in from above which filled it, and St. Hilda being carried by angels to heaven. Awakening, she looked around, and noticing that the other sisters were all asleep, she realised that she had had either a dream or a vision; and rising in a fright, she roused a nun who, according to the Anglo-Saxon version, was prioress in the monastery and was called Frigyd, and in great trouble reported to her that Hilda had taken her departure with an escort of angels. The latter then awoke all the other sisters and summoned them to church to say prayers and sing psalms for the Mother, and at daybreak the brethren came from the other monastery where she had died to report the fact. The sisters told them they already knew what they had to tell, and it then transpired that the vision occurred at the very time when the saint had actually died. The two monasteries, says Bede, were about thirteen miles apart.¹

In later days it was supposed that the figure of St. Hilda could sometimes be seen at one of the windows of the later abbey at Whitby. This was the result, we are told, of certain effects of mist and air, still sometimes visible.²

The Begu or Bega of this notice who was at Hackness when Hilda died in 680, had according to Bede, been a nun for thirty years—that is, since 650—and must therefore have been professed about the same time as the Heiu above named. She can only have come to Hackness, however, in 679, when that nunnery was built. Whence she came from we do not positively know, but it seems to me very probable that she came from the West, and not unlikely from Cumberland. In the twelfth-century Life of her she is identified with Heiu, which is most improbable.

¹ *Bede*, iv. 23.

² *Murray's Yorkshire*, p. 215.

Bega may, however, like Bugga, have been a surname or pet name. This is rather confirmed by a story of her. Begu is the old Northumbrian name of bég or beág, "a bracelet," and in her Life we are told that a holy man who persuaded her to adopt a religious life presented her with a bracelet which she was to wear constantly in memory of her consecration. This bracelet she left behind when she fled from Copeland, in Cumberland, and there it was venerated for her sake.¹ St. Bega gave her name to St. Bees Head and to the town of St. Bees in Copeland. The giving of her name to the headland was doubtless due to an early chapel dedicated to her. The chapel built on the same spot by Henry the First could hardly have been the first foundation there, for a Norman king would not have built a new church to a saint with an Irish name, and he probably only restored a building which had been destroyed by the Danes. It is possible that, as said in her Life, she was the daughter of an Irish prince born in the beginning of the seventh century and brought up as a Christian. She is reported to have fled from Ireland to escape matrimony, and went to Cumberland, where she first led the life of a hermit at Kirkedale, on the island of Cumbrae, and afterwards called St. Bees, and she there founded a nunnery. Thence she went to St. Aidan, who invested her with the black habit and veil. She is said to have died on the 31st of October 681. The author of her Life says it seems difficult to doubt the statement that in the year 1140 a coffin was found at Hackness inscribed "Hic est sepulchrum Beghu." He also mentions a certain Freetha who was probably the Frigyth of Bede's account.² It is remarkable that among the memorial stones found at Hackness, to be mentioned presently, is one on which there is a representation of a female head; the latter is surmounted by the words, *Bugga virgo*. This is followed by two lines of runic characters, and these by four other lines with so-called tree runes or cryptic runes, and followed again by the word *Orate*. Can this be the very stone mentioned in the life of St. Bega as having been found in 1140 at the very spot, as mentioned above? Bugga may here be a form of Bega.

She was honoured at Kilbagie, in Clackmannan, and at Kilbucho, also in Scotland,³ and, according to Butler, at Kilbees in the same country, while the Breviary of Aberdeen says she was also had in honour at Dunbar. The most notable miracle

¹ Haigh, *op. cit.* 350.

² See Haigh, *op. cit.* 349 and 350.

³ D.C.B., i. 304-5; Forbes, *Kalendars*, 278.

connected with her was when a fall of snow in the middle of summer exactly marked the boundaries of the original domain of the saint, which had been disputed.¹

More than one pretty story is connected with Hilda's name. *Inter alia*, the explanation of the ammonites found in the adjoining lias beds which look so like coiled snakes with their heads cut off and which she is supposed to have beheaded and petrified, hence the blazonry of the abbey shield representing three ammonites. A similar story was told of St. Keyne in Somersetshire about the ammonites there. I am tempted to quote one of Scott's word-pictures from *Marmion* in which this and another legend of St. Hilda are enshrined. He speaks of how the nuns at their evening talk used to tell—

“ . . . how of thousand snakes each one
Has changed into a coil of stone.
When Holy Hilda prayed
Themselves within their holy ground
Their stony folds had often found.
They told how seafowls' pinions fail
As over Whitby's towers they sail,
And sinking down with flutterings faint
They do their homage to the Saint.”

Bede tells us that Hilda died on the 15th of the kalends of December, *i.e.* 17th November, which is her death-day in the Calendar. The year of her death, according to Bede, was 680, and she was probably buried at Hartlepool, as I have argued. The story told by William of Malmesbury, that her remains, together with those of St. Aidan and of Ceolfrid the Abbot of Jarrow, were afterwards removed to Glastonbury by King Edmund, is, according to Plummer, only part of the great Glastonbury myth.² Rudborne makes the same king remove them to Gloucester,³ while Leland⁴ makes Titus, the abbot of Glesconia (? Glastonbury), carry them off.⁵

Hilda was succeeded as abbess of Streonaeshalch by her own foster-child, the Princess Ælfleda, the daughter of King Oswy, who was two years old when they moved together to Whitby. There, as Bede tells us, she learnt the discipline of the regular life, and there, on the death of Hilda, she became its abbess (*magistra*).⁶ On the death of her father, Oswy, in 670, her

¹ See *Montalembert*, v. 252, note.

² Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 247 and 248.

³ *Ang. Sac.*, i. 214.

⁴ *Coll.*, iii. p. 36.

⁵ See also Dugdale, *Mon.*, ed. 1655, i. p. 71.

⁶ *Op. cit.* iii. 24.

mother Eanfleda joined her at Whitby, and they governed the monastery together.¹ Bede, in his history of St. Cuthbert, speaks of her as the venerable servant of Christ, Ælfled, who amid the joys of virginity bestowed the care of motherly tenderness on many communities of handmaids of Christ, and grafted on the stock of royal nobility the higher nobility of consummate virtue.² While Æddi describes her as always the comforter and best counsellor of the whole province.³

Bede reports, on the authority of a priest of the church at Lindisfarne, that she was stricken for a long time with a grievous illness, and was almost at the point of death; and although her physicians' efforts were vain, yet divine grace spared her life; she could neither walk nor stand, and crawled about on all fours like a quadruped. One day, her thoughts turning to St. Cuthbert, she said, "I wish I had something belonging to him; I should then soon be better." Cuthbert having heard of this, sent her his girdle. This she wrapped round her. The next morning she was able to stand upright, and on the third day was restored to health. A few days later one of her nuns who had an intolerable pain in the head was cured by having the same girdle bound round it. She afterwards put the girdle in Hilda's coffin, whence it disappeared and was never found again. Bede naïvely argues that St. Cuthberht had to do with this, as he feared that if such miracles became widely known the sick would flock thither, and some of whom would fail to be cured in consequence of their unworthiness, and this would create scepticism as to the girdle's merits.⁴

Bede also reports an interview which Ælfleda had with the same saint, who, on her invitation, took ship, and with some of his companions went to Coquet Island, at the mouth of the Coquet in Northumberland, whither she went to meet him. After putting some questions to him and receiving satisfactory answers, she fell at his feet and implored him to tell her how long her brother King Ecgfrid was going to live and rule over the Angles. He was not anxious to disclose this, and spoke in rather cryptic terms, but implied that he could only live a year. This news greatly grieved her, and she then asked who would be his heir, since he had neither children nor brothers. He consoled her by telling her that one would come from beyond the seas whom she might treat as a brother. By this she understood that Aldfrid, who was reputed to be the son of Ecgfrid's father

¹ *Bede*, iv. 26.

² *Op. cit.* chs. 2-3.

³ *Vit. Wilf.*, ch. 60.

⁴ *Vit. Cuth.*, ch. 23.

and had been studying letters for a long time among the Scots, was meant. As we have seen, Aldfrid did in fact succeed him. Ælfleda then turned her conversation to Ecgfrid himself. She knew that he had wanted to make Cuthberht a bishop, and she was anxious to know why he preferred his cloister to so dignified a position. He replied that although he felt himself unworthy of such a position, he could not resist the decree of the Ruler of heaven if he so ordered. He was sure, however, that it would only be for a time, and that in a while he would release him again, and let him go back to his beloved solitude; but he begged her to tell nobody. Having answered her various questions and instructed her in things about which she had need, he once more returned to his monastery.¹ This was about the year 684.

Two years later, St. Cuthberht again visited her at Osingadum, now Easington, seven miles from Whitby, where she had built another monastery. He had gone thither to consecrate a church, and, as reported by the abbess herself to his biographer, they dined together, and at the meal his knife fell from his trembling hand, while his thoughts were elsewhere. Thereupon he playfully said, "You wish me to eat all day; I must rest sometimes." The fact is, as the story goes, the soul of one of the brethren at the larger monastery of Whitby was then passing away, and this had been seen in the spirit by Cuthberht. A messenger who arrived the next day reported the death of a shepherd named Hathuwald, who had been killed by falling from a tree, and for whom the abbess asked the bishop to pray.²

While Ælfleda was Abbess of Whitby, Trumwine who had been driven away from his see at Abercorn by the Picts, sought shelter at Whitby. There, says Bede, with a few of his own people, he for several years led a life of monastic austerity, not only to his own benefit, but to that of many, and there he was buried in the church of St. Peter. . . . When the bishop came thither, "this divine instructress for God" (*i.e.* Ælfleda) found in him the greatest assistance in governing the nunnery and the greatest comfort to herself.³

Before the death of King Aldfrid of Northumbria, we are told that Ælfleda his sister pleaded with him on behalf of St. Wilfrid. This was apparently at the instance of Archbishop Theodore.⁴ According to Æddi, when Aldfrid was presently mortally ill, she was present at his bedside, and afterwards

¹ *Vit. Cuth.*, ch. 24.

² *Ib.* ch. 34.

³ *H.E.*, iv. 26.

⁴ *Ante*, ii. p. 219.

professed to report one of his dying statements showing his determination if he got better to make reparation to the Bishop.¹ It was Ælfleda's report of this remark that did so much to induce the Northumbrian clergy to treat Wilfrid with more consideration.²

The Whitby monk who wrote the earliest life of St. Gregory has a curious legend about the discovery of the remains of King Ædwin at this time. He says there was a brother of our race named Trimma in a certain monastery of the South Angles (*Sundaranglorum*) in the days of their King Æthe'red. At that time Queen Æfonfleda (*sic*), the daughter of King Ædwin, was still living a monastic life. To Trimma there appeared in a vision a certain priest, saying, "Go to the place which is in the district called Hatfield, where Ædwin was killed, and remove his bones thence and take them to 'Streuneshalac' (*sic*), which is the monastery of the most famous Ælfleda, the daughter of the above-named Queen Æfonfleda (*sic*)."³ He thereupon replied, "I do not know the place." Upon which he said, "Go to a certain village in Lindissi (whose actual name our brother who reported the story says the Whitby monk had forgotten), and seek out a certain man called Teoful. He can show you where it is."

Thinking it was only a delusive dream he took no notice of it, but the same thing having occurred three times, he went to the man, who pointed out to him where the royal remains were. The first excavation was unsuccessful, but he succeeded better on a second trial, found the relics and took them to "Streuneshalac," where, says the Whitby monk, they are now, with other royal remains, placed in the church of St. Peter to the south of the altar of St. Peter and the east of that of St. Gregory.⁴

The mention of Ælfleda with her mother in this story confirms the statement of Bede, that they at least for a while governed the Abbey jointly. "*Praeerat quidem tunc eidem monasterio regia virgo Aelfleda* (*sic*) *una cum matre Eanflede.*"⁴

During Ælfleda's tenure of the Abbey, John, afterwards Bishop of Hexham, was also an inmate there, and was doubtless trained under her.⁵ Father Haigh suggests that she assisted at the translation of the remains of her old friend St. Cuthberht, since one of the linen envelopes of his body, which were removed from it in 1104, was described as "a linen cloth of a double texture which had enveloped the body of St. Cuthberht: Ælfleda the Abbess had wrapped him up in it."

¹ *Ante*, ii. 220. ² *Ib.* 179 and 180. ³ *Op. cit. ch.* 18. ⁴ *Bede*, iv. 26.

⁵ See *Vit. St. Johannis*, Raine (*Historians of York*, i. 244).

The last act reported of St. Ælfleda was the writing of a letter preserved among those of St. Boniface and addressed to an Abbess called Adolana, identified by Mabillon with Adda or Addula, daughter of Dagobert II., king of Austrasia, and founder of a monastery at Pfalzel (Palatiolum, near Treves), over which she presided for thirty-five years. Ælfleda commends to her charity an Abbess who had been a spiritual daughter of her own from the days of her youth. She had long wished to make a pilgrimage to Rome, but had hitherto refrained for the sake of the community over which she presided, but at her persevering request she had at length yielded.¹ Let us hope they were not anxious to get rid of a tiresome old lady.

St. Ælfleda died in 713 at the age of fifty-nine,² and was buried in the church of St. Peter in the monastery at Streonæshalch with her father Oswy, her mother Eanfleda, her mother's father Ædwin, and many other noble persons.³ As I have already said, St. Hilda, the founder of the abbey, is conspicuously absent from this list.⁴ Ælfleda's death-day in the calendar is the 8th February.⁵

Let us now revert shortly to Hackness. According to Æddi, when King Aldfrid was mortally ill at Driffield in 705, Ælfleda, with another abbess named Æthelburga, visited him. Father Haigh has argued most plausibly that this Æthelburga was then probably the Abbess of Hackness, which abbey, as we have seen, was subordinate to Whitby. On the northern side of the chancel arch in the church there still remains a stone decorated with interlaced serpents forming the capital of a pier, with fragments of a cross which is preserved in the chancel of St. Peter's chapel. The capital on the northern pier of the chancel arch of this church is ornamented with a pattern of intertwined serpents of this date.⁶ The uppermost fragment has a scroll on the southern side and a knot on the northern, of the same character as those on the cross at Bewcastle, and others in Northumbria. On the other side there are inscriptions in Latin, but so disfigured by blunders as to make it evident the writer did not understand the language.

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Ep. iii. 248 and 249; Haigh, *op. cit.* 363.

² *Annales Lauresh.*, where she is called Alfreda. ³ *Bede*, iii. 24.

⁴ The great abbey of the founder was destroyed by the Danes.

⁵ Her death is recorded in the *Irish Annals*, where we read: "Filia Osui in Monasteriam Ild moritur." The *Ulster Annals* put it in 712, and Tighernach in 713 (see Plummer, ii. 185).

⁶ Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrid*, 137 and 280, figures one of the fragments just named.

Of these inscriptions, Haigh says: In the first line we have certainly the name Oedilburga (*i.e.* Æthelburga), and to the end of the fourth line the restoration is indubitable. Then reading T for S and O for D in the ninth line, and supplying an E in the fifth, we have *Oedilburga beata ad semper te recolant amantes pie deposcant requiem vernantem sempiternam sanctorum pia mater Apostolica*. I quote Bishop Browne's revised reading.

On another fragment, which is defaced on one side and has the lower extremities of two monsters on another, there is another inscription in four lines in characters apparently analogous to Celtic Oghams; while on the fourth we have the inscription, *Trecea, ora . . . abbatissa Oedilburga orate p(ro nobis)*.¹

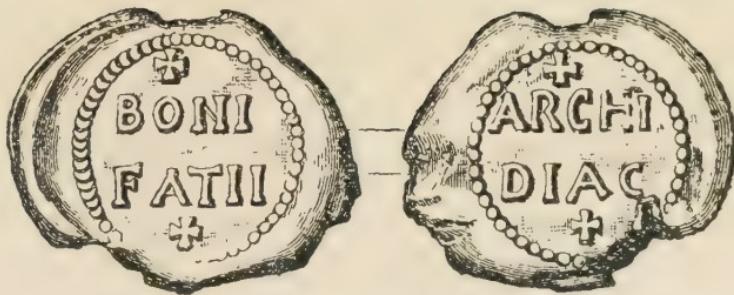
The name of Æthilburga, as Father Haigh says, immediately follows that of Ælfleda in the *Liber Vitae*, and John of Wallingford, who sometimes has notices which are apparently derived from some lost early source, calls her a daughter of Adulf, King of the East Anglians, brother of Æthelwold, the son of Hereswitha and nephew of Hilda (*Aethelwold frater Adulfi patris Ethelburgae virginis*). Elsewhere he speaks of her as a contemporary of S. Guthlac and as a daughter of King Eadulf, *i.e.* Adulf (*Eadulfi regis filia*), "who first led the life of a female anchorite." She afterwards, when driven by pressing circumstances (*exigentibus causis necessariis*), was constrained to become an abbess, and eventually died as the Superior of many nuns (*sanctimoniales*), after a life of perpetual virginity.² The fact that she was a great-niece of St. Hilda probably accounts for Æthilburga moving from East Anglia and settling in Yorkshire. The earlier inscription of Æthilburga, or Oedilburga, above quoted is followed by the word "lica," separated from it, however, by a line, and is therefore (says Haigh) the beginning of another memorial. He suggests that it is the termination of a very rare name, Cuuemlicu, which occurs in the list of queens and abbesses in the *Liber Vitae*.³

On the opposite side of one of the fragments at Hackness we have another inscription which, says Haigh, after making the obvious corrections of N for M in the fourth line, A for Q in the seventh, suppressing a redundant M in the sixth, and supplying R in the seventh, reads—*Huaetburga, semper tenent memores domus tuae te mater amatissima*. "The memories of thy house always

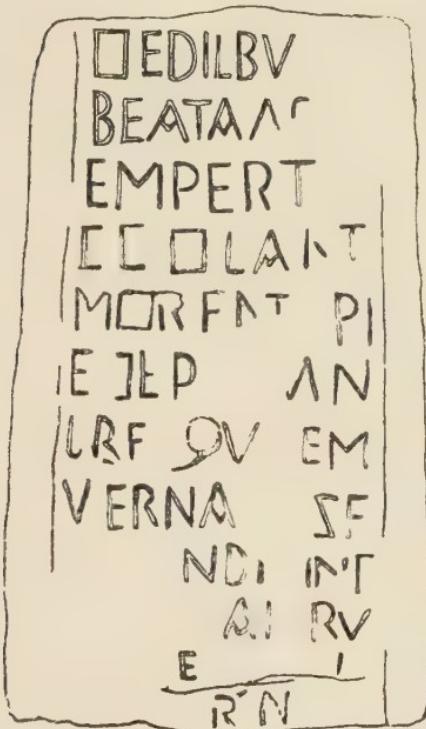
¹ Browne, *op. cit.* 281; Haigh reads Trece[ab]osa.

² Yorks. Arch. Journ., iii. 373-74.

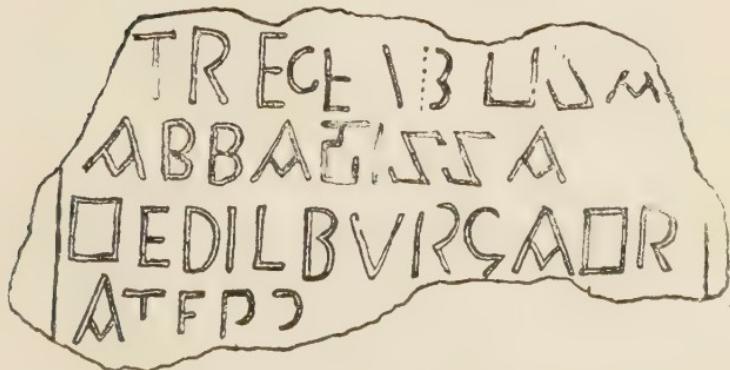
³ *Ib.*



SEAL OF ARCHDEACON BONIFACE.



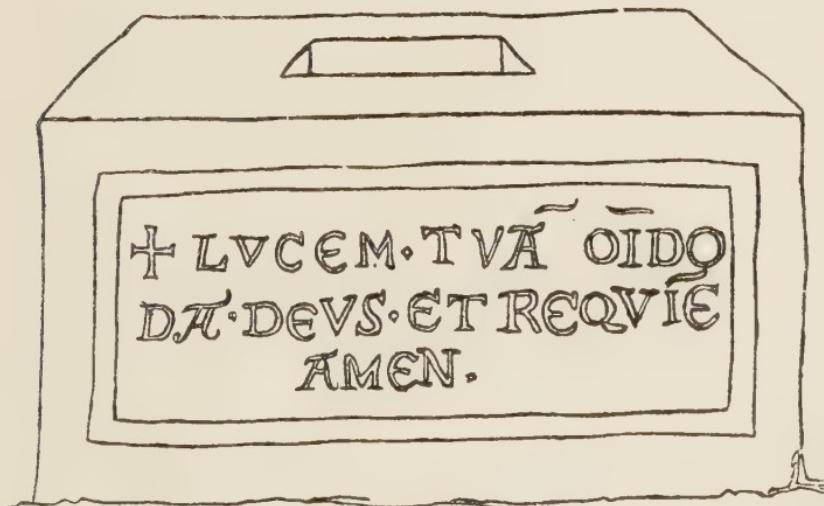
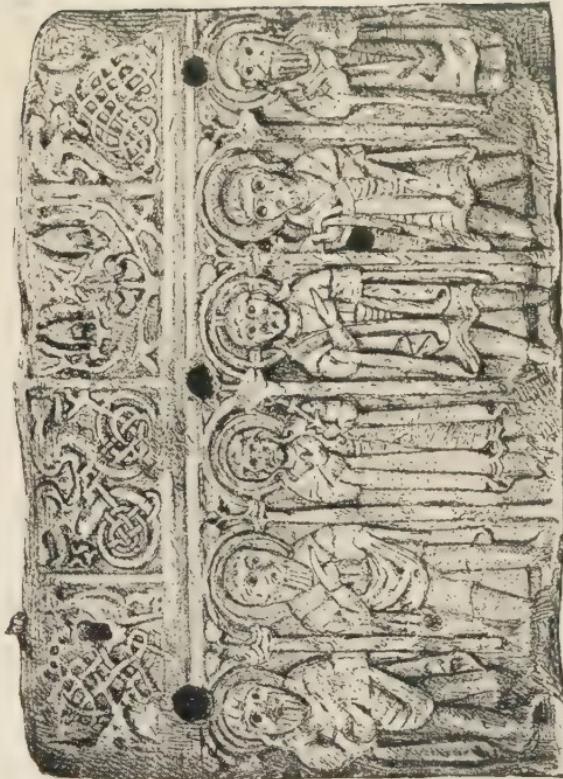
MEMORIAL OF OEDILBURGA.—See page 202.



A MEMORIAL TO TRECCA. (ib.)



MEMORIAL OF [HUA]ETB(UR)GA.



BASE OF OWIN'S CROSS.—See page 218.

hold thee dearest Mother.”¹ We can hardly doubt that she also was an Abbess of Hackness, or she would hardly have been thus commemorated there. I think it very probable that she is the same abbess on whose behalf St. Ælfleda wrote the letter above quoted to St. Boniface. It would seem, in fact, that she was also a daughter of Aldwulf, or Eadulf, King of the East Angles, and a sister of Æthilburga just named. Like Eadburga, the Abbess of Repton, of whom we have written earlier,² she occurs with her name spelt in a different way. In a letter written to Archbishop Boniface by her with her name spelt Egburga, she describes herself as lowlier than any of his male and female disciples, and addresses him by his original name, Wynfrith. In it he is called an abbot. (It must therefore have been written before he became bishop, and when he was still Abbot of Nutshell, *i.e.* in 717–718.) She says, “The tempest-tossed mariner does not so much long for the haven, the thirsty fields do not so much desire the showers, the mother does not so anxiously wait for her son on the winding shore, as I desire to enjoy the sight of thee,” and adds that he had taken the place in her affections of her brother, Oshere, whose death, which happened many years before, she still continued to feel. She then goes on to speak of another and more recent loss, namely, that of her dear sister, Withburga, with whom she had been brought up, having been nursed at the same breast and having had one mother in the Lord. She had been removed from her, not because of her death, but of their bitter separation. “Now,” she says, “a prison confines her in the Roman city,” meaning apparently that she was inaccessible there. The letter closes with a message from her amanuensis called Ealdberht, who reminds Boniface of their ancient friendship, and asks for his prayers.³ As Father Haigh remarks, the fact of her name not occurring in the *Liber Vitae* points to her having died abroad and probably at Rome. In another letter written by Boniface to an “Abbess Bugga,” who had apparently complained of the interference of the secular clergy with her, he adds, “If you cannot on their account have the freedom of a quiet mind, in your own country, it seems better that you should gain liberty of contemplation by a pilgrimage if you wish and can arrange it as our sister *Withburga*, who has intimated to me by her letters that she found just such a quiet life as she had long desired and sought, at the threshold of Peter.”⁴ The mention of Withburga in this letter

¹ Of the initial name, Huaetburga, the letters . . . etb . . . ga still remain.

² *Ante*, ii. 414. ³ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Ep. iii. p. 259. ⁴ *Ib.* p. 277.

suggests that Bugga may be here used as a playful name for Egburga, just as it is similarly used as a pet name for Heaburg (*Heaburg cognomento Buggae*) in another of the letters of Boniface (cf. p. 261).

Bede also mentions a monastery of virgins at a place called Wetadun, probably Watton in Yorkshire, half-way between Driffield and Beverley, over which the Abbess Heriburga presided.¹ On one occasion it was visited by John, the Bishop of York, when he was warmly welcomed by the abbess and nuns. One of the latter, who, says Bede, was the daughter of the abbess (according to the flesh), and whose name was Quenburga, had been lately bled, and while engaged in study was seized with a sudden pain, and her arm swelled so much that it could hardly be grasped with both hands, and she seemed about to die. The abbess entreated the Bishop to bless her. He asked when she had been bled, and being told it was on the 4th day of the moon, replied that they had done ill to bleed her on that day, for he remembered the Archbishop saying that it was very dangerous to bleed people at that season, for the moon and tide were then increasing. He then asked what he could do for her. She persuaded him to go in to her daughter, who she intended should be her successor, and say a prayer over her. The story was reported by a certain Berethun, the Bishop's deacon, and in Bede's time Abbot of the Monastery of Derawude (in Latin, *Silva Derorum*, i.e. the wood of the Deiri),² who said he had been told by the virgin herself that in consequence of the prayer her arm had been completely cured.

We will now turn to another family of secluded ladies. This claimed St. Æbbe for its initial Mother. St. Æbbe is called the uterine sister of the Northumbrian King Oswy by Bede in his *History of St. Cuthberht (soror uterina regis Oswy)*.³ Mr. Plummer understands the phrase as meaning that they had the same mother (i.e. Acha, sister of Ædwin), but not the same father, and that therefore she was not the daughter of King Æthelfrid. I think it more probable that he meant by it that she was the sister of Oswy on her mother's, as well as her father's side, and not like some other sons of Æthelfrid, who were only her half-brothers.

¹ Ælred of Rivaulx says it was situated among marshes.

² See Bede, v. 2; *A.-S. Chron.*, sub an. 685. It was afterwards called Beverley, and Berethun was its first abbot. *Act. Sanct.*, May, iii. 503.

³ *Op. cit.* ch. 10.

It is pretty certain, on the accession of King *Æ*l^{edwin}, that she escaped to Scotland with the other members of *Æ*thelfrid's family. According to the Aberdeen Breviary, she was there protected by Domnall Breac, who reigned over Dalriada from 629–642. Capgrave, who was such an inventor of impossible legends, says she was sought in marriage by Aidan, King of the Scots. As he died in 606, that is, ten years before her father's death, and when her mother had only been married three years, this does not seem probable. He further says she was baptized by St. Finan, which is another of his unauthorised statements. It is almost certain that she in fact became a Christian in Scotland at the same time as her brothers Oswald and Oswy.

Presently she adopted a religious life. We are told that her brother Oswy gave her a small Roman camp near the Derwent on the west of the county of Durham, where she founded a monastery. The place was afterwards called Ebchester, after her, and the church there is still dedicated to her.¹ This story may, in fact, have arisen, as others have, from the dedication being to her. What is much more certain is that she founded another and a more famous monastery at Coldingham on the coast of Berwickshire, of which she became the Abbess. Her name remains attached to the rocky promontory close by known as St. Abb's Head. Coldingham is called *Coludi urbs* by Bede,² and Smith, the editor of Bede, identifies it with the Colana of Ptolemy and rejects the notion of some of the older antiquaries, who derived its name from the Culdees, as etymologically most improbable. *Æ*bbe was there visited on her own invitation by St. Cuthberht, who spent a few days with her, no doubt instructing the community. Bede tells a story that while the rest of the community were asleep, he used to go out alone and spend the greater part of the night in prayer and prolonged vigils, nor would he return till the hour of common prayer was at hand. One night he was followed stealthily by one of the brothers, who reported how Cuthberht had gone down to the sea, above which on a height there rose the monastery. He entered the water till it reached his arms and neck, and thus spent some time in singing psalms, which we are told were accompanied by the sound of the waves. At dawn he came ashore and concluded his prayers, kneeling on the beach. As he was doing this on one occasion, there came two otters (*lutrae*), really seals, from

¹ See Tanner, *Not. Mon. Dunelm.*, vi.; and Surtees, *Durham*, ii. 301. Hardy's Catalogue, 289–290.

² *Op. cit.* iv. 19.

the sea and began to warm his feet with their breath and to wipe them dry with their hair, after which the Saint gave them his blessing and returned to the monastery to keep the canonical hours. Cuthberht having noticed that he had been observed, told the monk who had followed him that he forgave him on condition of his telling no one about it until after his death, a promise which he duly kept.¹

At Coldingham she was also visited by Ætheldrytha, daughter of King Anna of East Anglia, the tiresome wife of the Northumbrian King Ecgfrid, son of Oswy, who was of course Æbbe's nephew. She became a professed nun there, having, as we have seen, taken the veil from Bishop Wilfrid.² She only stayed a year, and then returned to her old home in East Anglia. Presently Queen Eormenburga (probably the Iurminburg of the *Liber Vitae*), the second wife of Ecgfrid, also paid a visit to Coldingham, where she fell ill. Æbbe the Abbess attributed it, according to Æddi, to Ecgfrid's treatment of Wilfrid, and further tells us that she thereupon wrote a sharp letter to the king, who released Wilfrid from custody; after which his wife recovered.³

About the year 679 the monastery at Coldingham, which was doubtless entirely constructed of wood, was completely burnt, through carelessness (*per culpam incuriae*), says Bede. He then adds a very cryptic sentence, in which he seems to attribute the disaster to the evil lives of the inmates, and that it might have been averted if they had amended their ways and been penitent. The monastery was a double one, that is to say, both for men and women. Among the monks was a certain Scot, called, like the famous abbot of Iona, Adamnan, who lived a most austere life, only taking food on Sundays and Thursdays and often spending whole nights in prayer. He had adopted this painful life in order to cure himself of certain evil propensities which had led him into wickedness when young. This he did at the instance of an Irish priest whom he had consulted.

It happened that on a certain day, having been for a long walk from the monastery with a companion, they were returning, and as they drew near home again, Adamnan broke into tears when they approached the lofty buildings of the monastery. On being asked why he did this, he said that in a short time the Abbey buildings would be burnt down. His companion told Æbbe, who questioned him. He replied how he had been visited by

¹ *Vit. Anon. Cuth.*, par. 13; Bede, *Vit.*, ch. 10.

² Bede, *H.E.*, iv. 19.

³ *Vit. Wilf.*, ch. 39.

a vision which had congratulated him on having found him engaged in his devotions, for, he said, I have visited all the different parts of the monastery and looked into everyone's chambers and beds and have found no one but yourself busy about the care of his soul, but all of them, both men and women, were either engaged in slothful sleep or awake in order to commit sin (*aut ad peccata vigilant*). For even the cells (*domunculae*) that were built for praying or reading had been converted into places of feasting, drinking, talking, and other luxuries; and the virgins dedicated to God, laying aside the respect due to their profession, when they had leisure, devoted themselves to weaving fine garments (*texendis subtilioribus indumentis*) either to adorn themselves like brides (*ad vicem sponsorum*) or to gain the attention of strange men (*aut externorum sibi virorum amicitiam comparent*). He said all this would lead to the place being destroyed by fire from heaven. The Abbess rebuked him for not having let her know what was going on. His story having been spread abroad, the inmates of the monastery amended their ways for a while, but after the Abbess's death they returned to their former filthy conversations and became even more wicked (*redierunt ad pristinas sordes, immo sceleratiora fecerunt*). Bede says he was told all this by his fellow-priest, Ædgils, who then lived in the monastery, and who after the fire removed to Bede's monastery and died there.¹

Æbbe is said to have died on 21st August 683, and was commemorated on August 25th.² In the eleventh century her relics were translated from Coldingham to Durham. They were among those which the famous sacrist, Alured, son of Weslowe, carried off from their several resting-places to enrich the great depository of relics at Durham. Symeon of Durham says that that worthy had a divine commission to hunt them out. Among them were the remains of Æbbe and Æthelgytha,³ both Abbesses of Coldingham.⁴ These remains are not mentioned in the register of Richard de Segbrok, and may have been returned at a later time. He does, however, mention "a piece of cloth which St. Æbbe gave to St. Cuthberht, in which he lay for 418 years and 5 months."⁵

The loose morals prevailing at Coldingham during Æbbe's Abbacy, as testified by Bede, may be matched by what is stated in a document quoted by Ivo (an indifferent guide, no doubt). The document itself is obviously dubious, but it shows what the famous

¹ Bede, iv. 25. ² Her name occurs in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham.

³ The latter's name occurs in the *Liber Vitae* in the form Eðelgytha.

⁴ Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, i. 53. ⁵ Raine's *St. Cuthberht*, 123.

Roman Catholic canonist deemed was possible in those days of very lax administration in monasteries. It claims to be an abstract of a letter from Pope John iv. (24th December 640 to 11th October 642) to Bulcred, king of the Saxons, who is otherwise unknown. In this the Pope is made to say that he had heard how fornication was rife among his people, so that nuns (*sanctimoniales*) and women devoted to God, and others who were within the prohibited decrees as defined by St. Gregory, were wont to marry, which acts the Pope proceeds to vigorously condemn.¹

In an earlier page we have described a monastery situated on the Scotch Tine in Lothian and known as Tinemouth.² Bede tells us that originally it was a community of men, but in after times became one of virgins, who greatly flourished in his time.³ In a later page he tells us of a miracle performed there by St. Cuthberht, who paid a visit to the nunnery when the Abbess was a certain Verca. Having risen from his noonday rest he felt thirsty and asked for something to drink. The nuns asked him whether he would have wine or beer. He said he would have water, which they accordingly drew from the fountain. Having given the benediction, he drank a little and handed it to his priest, who gave it to the attendant. The latter asked to be allowed to drink from the cup from which the bishop had drunk. He happened to be the priest of the community. The water seemed to him to have acquired the taste of wine. Wishing that a brother who was standing by should also be a witness of the miracle, he handed him the cup. He confirmed the fact, and they both agreed they had never tasted better wine. This story Bede claims to have heard from a monk of his own monastery at Wearmouth, who had been present.

When the city of Carlisle, then called Lugubalia, with its environs, was made over to St. Cuthberht, the latter founded a community of nuns under an Abbess there, and established a school (*sanctimonialium congregatio stabilita, reginam dato habitu religionis consecravit, et in proiectum divinae servitutis scholas instituit*).⁴ The Abbess, according to Bede, was the sister of

¹ Ivo, *Decreta*, vii. ch. 130; Mansi, *Con.*, x. 687; Jaffé, No. 1585; Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 161, col. 574.

² *Ante*, i. 83.

³ *Vit. St. Cuth.*, ch. iii.

⁴ Symeon of Durham, i. 9. He here clearly tells us that St. Cuthberht consecrated the Queen (*i.e.* Eormenburgha) as a nun there. This was doubtless after the death of Ecgfrid (*reginam dato habitu religionis consecravit*); *op. cit.* i. 9. Bede (*Vit. Cuth.*, 27), speaking of Ecgfrid, calls the monastery at Carlisle, “*Monasterium suae sororis.*”

Ecgfrid, King of Northumbria. It was while Queen Eormenburga was staying there with her sister-in-law that Cuthberht foresaw the death of her husband, King Ecgfrid, among the Picts.¹

In Bede's time there was also a monastery at Dacore or Dacre, near the river of the same name which falls into the Eamont, and, flowing out of Lake Ullswater, separates Cumberland from Westmoreland. Its first Abbot was named Suidberht.²

We will now turn to Mercia. Montalembert says: "Of all the races descended from Odin who shared among them the sway of Englarid, no one has presented a larger list of nuns and saints to be inscribed on the national calendar than the descendants of Penda, the ravager and man of fire, as if they thus meant to pay a generous ransom for the calamities inflicted upon the new Christians of England by their cruel enemy."³ It is a very remarkable fact that all the children of the great champion of paganism, Penda, became Christians, and that his two daughters both became nuns, namely, Cyniburga, who married Alchfrid, King of Northumbria, and Cynesuitha.⁴ The names of the two sisters, as we shall see, occur on the Bewcastle Cross. After the death of Alchfrid, they retired to Mercia. There, according to the appendix to Florence of Worcester, their brothers Wulfhere and Æthelred built a monastery for them at Caistor on the Nene in Northamptonshire and not far from Peterborough, which, according to Florence of Worcester, was afterwards called *Kineburgæ Castrum*.⁵ It was originally named Dormundcaster.⁶ "Caistor is famous," says Bishop Browne, "for its noble church and its ancient remains. A ridge in Caistor Field is still called Cunnyburrow's Way. The dedication of the church is to St. Cyniburga, and it is said to be unique."⁷ Cynesuitha became a nun at the monastery of Caistor, of which her sister was the Abbess. They were commemorated together as saints there, and on the 6th March about the year 1006 their remains were translated to Peterborough by Abbot Ælfslige. Bishop Browne

¹ See Bede, *H.E.*, iv. 28.

² *H.E.*, iv. chap. xxxii.

³ *Op. cit.* v. 267.

⁴ Cynesuitha is said in the appendices to Florence of Worcester to have persuaded Offa, the son of Sighere, king of the East Saxons, who was in love with her, to give her up and to go to Rome (*M.H.B.*, 637), or as William of Malmesbury puts it: *Edoctus amores mutare in melius* (*G.P.*, iv. par. 180; *G.R.*, i. par. 98). Stubbs has pointed out this story involves an anachronism (*Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iv. 68). It is obviously due to some mystification.

⁵ *M.H.B.*, 638.

⁶ Hardy, *Cat. Brit. Hist.*, i. 370.

⁷ Her name occurs in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham.

suggests that the famous early stone shrine shaped like a reliquary and having a row of figures all round, which is preserved at Peterborough, may, as has been supposed, have contained their relics.¹ If so, it must itself be of later date. The two sisters are mentioned in the forged foundation charter of Peterborough Abbey, which dates from the twelfth century and is of no value.²

According to John of Tynemouth, the two sisters just named had a relative called Tibba or Tilba, who also became a nun. Camden says she was honoured with particular devotion at Ryal, a town near the Guash, in Rutlandshire.³

West of Mercia was the sub-kingdom of the Hecanas, which answers to the modern county of Hereford. Its first ruler was Merwald, son of Penda, who married Eormenburga, styled also Domneva (? Domna Ebba), the niece of Ecgberht, king of Kent.⁴ She had several daughters who became saints. The eldest of these was Milburga, who built a nunnery at Wenlock, then called Winwick, and undertook the office of Abbess, to which she was consecrated by Archbishop Theodore.⁵ It was reported of her that having refused to marry, she was delivered from the violent attack of a rejected suitor at a place called Stoches, by a miraculous rising of the river Corf. Among the miracles attributed to her was the not infrequent one of hanging her veil on a sunbeam. She died at the age of sixty in 722, her death-day being the 15th of June. Harpsfeld, who consulted her unpublished life, however, gives it as the 23rd of February, on which day she occurs in the Hereford Missal. She was buried at Wenlock, and many miracles are reported of her in a work written by Odo. (He has been identified, says Stubbs, with the Cardinal of Ostia, 1088-1101; but Fabricius recognises him more probably as Odo, Prior of Canterbury, who became Abbot of Battle in 1175.) William of Malmesbury tells us that the site of her devastated monastery was made over to the Cluniac Monks by Roger de Montgomery. Her tomb was discovered during the rebuilding of the monastery by a boy running over the site and its roof breaking in. The identity with the saint's grave was deduced from the aromatic scent that proceeded from it and by the wonderful cures performed by her remains.⁶ These relics were translated in the year 1101. In the history of her

¹ *The Conversion of the Heptarchy*, 209-211.

² *A.-S. Chron.*, MS. E, ad an. 657.

³ Hardy, *Cat.*, i. 370.

⁵ Stubbs, *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, ii. 913.

⁴ *Ante*, p. 249.

⁶ *G.P.*, iv. 3 and 67.

miracles, already cited, it is said that a certain Raimund, working in the Church of the Holy Trinity, found a document in which the place of her burial had been described by a priest named Alstan, and that her coffin was bound with iron "after the manner of the English."¹ The churches of Stoke St. Milburgh at Beckbury in Shropshire, of Wixford in Warwickshire, and Offenham in Worcestershire, were dedicated to her.² Dugdale also speaks of her cult at a place in Wales named "Landmylien," which name he derives from hers.³

In one of the letters of Archbishop Boniface, written to Eadburga, the Abbess of Thanet, about the year 717, he reports the visions of a monk who had recently died in the monastery of St. Milburga at Wenlock, and which had been described to him by Hildelitha, Abbess of Barking. He calls them stupendous visions. In them he professed to have been very grievously ill, till his spirit was released from the ties of the flesh, and he saw as in one picture all the lands, and seas, and peoples of the earth, and a multitude of resplendent angels who sang in concert — "*Domine, ne in ira tua arguas me neque in furore tuo corripias me.*" They bore him upwards through the air, and he noticed that surrounding the earth there were great circles of flaming fire which withdrew from them when the angels made the sign of the cross, while he himself was protected from the fire by the angels putting their hands on his head. Beside the angels he also saw a vast crowd of disembodied human souls, and of malignant spirits who fought with the angels for their possession, and he himself heard the recital of all the faults of commission and omission he had committed in his worldly life, each one being personified and accusing him, as did his sins. Among others, he saw a man whom he himself had wounded when he was still wearing secular dress, and whose blood cried against him. On the other hand, he was given credit for such good things as he had done. He further noticed great open pits in which were fires, amidst which human spirits in the shape of black birds howled and cried piteously, and flew hither and thither. One of the angels remarked to him that God on the judgment day would relieve these souls from their punishment,

¹ Stubbs, *op. cit.*; *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iii. 913.

² Parker, *Ang. Ch. Calendar*, p. 262.

³ *Op. cit.*, ed. 1655, 613. Miss Arnold-Forster says that the church at Much Wenlock was formerly dedicated to her, and the fair there is still held on the second Monday in March, St. Milburga's day.

and grant them perpetual peace. Lower still were other fiery depths, in which the spirits were also piteously wailing. Here, said the angel, are the souls for whom there is no hope. He also had a view elsewhere of "the Paradise of God," where everyone was joyful, and from which a sweet fragrance proceeded. Over the fiery depths was placed a wooden bridge, across which the departed souls had to pass. Others of them could not do so, however, and fell into the fiery flood; others, again, waded, some up to their knees, others up to their shoulders. These, he was told, were the souls of those who had committed lesser faults. On the other side of the fiery torrent he saw the resplendent walls of the heavenly Jerusalem, whither the disembodied souls wended after crossing the river. *Inter alia*, he saw a struggle for the soul of an Abbot between the fiends and the angels, and he also professed to have seen the torments which King Ceolfrid of Mercia was suffering in the next world for his various evil deeds.¹ These I have described on an earlier page.

A more famous (and also a double monastery) existed in Mercia at Repton in Staffordshire, which became the burial-place of several of the Mercian kings. It was formerly known as Hreopadun. It is a pity we know so little about it. It is first mentioned in the life of St. Guthlac by Felix, who calls the community "a catholic congregation." Guthlac became a monk there in the time of its first recorded Abbess, who was called Ælfthrytha, otherwise Elfthritha or Elfrida, and who perhaps founded it about 697. We do not know who she was, but probably she could claim royal birth. She is named in a letter written by Waldhere, Bishop of London, to Archbishop Beorhtwald. In this letter reference is made to a Council called together by King Coenred of Mercia, to which his Bishops and grandees were summoned to discuss "the reconciliation of Ælfdryda" (*sic*).² What this reconciliation refers to we do not know, the whole matter is a mystery. When Guthlac was old, the Abbey of Repton was under another Abbess, perhaps her sister, named Eadburga (daughter of King Aldwulf of East Anglia), who is reported by Felix to have sent him a leaden coffin and a linen winding-sheet. I have described her dealings with St. Guthlac on an earlier page.³ Wallingford calls her Æthelburga. It would seem that she in later times joined her sister at Hackness and was buried there.⁴

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Epist. iii. 252-57.

² Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 275. She is mentioned in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham.

³ *Ante*, ii. 414.

⁴ *Ante*, iii. 202.

Let us now turn to *Ætheldrytha*, generally known as Saint Audrey, whom we left at Coldingham.¹ According to Thomas of Ely,² her husband, King Ecgfrid, whom she had deserted, was determined to take her away by force from the convent of Coldingham where she had sheltered, a fact not mentioned by Bede. She therefore made up her mind to escape and to return to East Anglia, where she had a great possession in the Isle of Ely. She set out accompanied by two companions named Sewenna and Sewera, and was pursued by the King. She did not go far, but climbed a hill near a place called Coldebur Chesheved, which, says the Ely historian, means in Latin *Caput Coldebirfi*. This she climbed and was supplied with food by the country people and hid away for seven days, while a spring of water sprang up in a very arid place to furnish her with water. The biographer relates as a miraculous fact that the impressions of her feet as she went up and descended the mountain were afterwards shown in the solid rock, and looked as if made in wax (*infusa tanquam in calida cera*). Setting out with her companions she reached the river Humber, and arrived at the port of Wyntryng-ham, a parish in the northern division of the wapentake of Manley, in the county of Lincoln, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Barton. Thence she went on for ten "stadia" farther, and stopped at a village called Alsham (Raine says Altham, also called Alftham). There she stayed a few days and built a church, doubtless of wood. Then she went on again and lay down to rest in a shady place and planted her walking-stick in the ground. In the morning it had sprouted and presently grew into a great ash tree, the largest in that country. The place, says Thomas of Ely, is still called *pausatio Etheldredae*. There she built another church to the memory of the Blessed Virgin.

At length, after their long journey, *Ætheldrytha* with her companions (they included a priest named Huna, formerly a monk, who had accompanied her and who became a saint) reached her own patrimony, the marriage gift presented to her by her first husband, namely, the Isle of Ely. It is described by Bede as situated in the land of the East Angles and as containing about 600 families (*i.e. hides*). It formed, he says, a kind of island enclosed by marshes, or waters, and was so named from the number of eels which were taken in the adjoining marshes.³

¹ *Ante*, iii. 206.

² Thomas of Ely says she was born at Ermynge, now Ixminge, in Suffolk (*Ang. Sac.*, i. 597).

³ Bede, iv. 19.

This simple etymology did not satisfy its historian, Thomas of Ely, who says it was derived from two Hebrew words, *El* (God) and *Ge* (earth), proving that he was innocent of any knowledge of Greek as well as Hebrew. An anonymous writer apostrophises the attractions of the place at a later time in some not unmusical lines :

*Haec sunt Elyae, Lanterna, Capella Mariae,
Atque Molendinum, multum dans vinea Vinum.
Continet insontes, quos vallant undique pontes.
Hos ditant montes; nec desunt flumina, fontes.
Nomen ab anguilla dicit Insula nobilis illa.*

(Ang. Sac., i. 592.)

A very late legend, quite unsupported by any early author, tells us that St. Augustine himself planted a church in the island at a place called Cradendene (*i.e.* Vallis Crati), a mile from the present town of Ely, which was destroyed and desolated by Penda.¹ Ætheldrytha herself built a church on a deserted place in the island. There, with the assistance of her brother Aldwulf, she also planted a double monastery, one for men and the other for women, which she dedicated to St. Mary. Over this she presided as Abbess, and where she received her old friend St. Wilfrid.² Bede says it was reported of her that from the time of her entering the convent she never wore any linen, but only woollen garments, and rarely washed in a hot bath (*in calidis balneis*), except just before the great festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Epiphany, and then she was the last to enter the bath after she had helped to wash all the other servants of God in it. She seldom ate more than once a day except on the great solemnities, or on urgent occasions, or when seriously ill. From matins she continued in church till daybreak, unless when suffering from some severe infirmity. She was said to have prophesied the coming of the plague by which she was to die, and the number of those who would perish in her convent. She died on the 23rd of June in 679, seven years after she had become Abbess, and, as she had ordered, she was buried in a wooden coffin and laid in the cemetery in the regular succession in which she had died, and was not honoured by a special sepulchre.³ She was succeeded in the office of Abbess by her

¹ Thomas of Ely, *Ang. Sac.*, i. 594 and 599.

² *Ib.* i. 599.

³ Bede, iv. 19. She was buried by Huna (*vide ante*), who afterwards became an anchorite on a small island in the marsh near Ely, which was

sister Sexburga, who had been the wife of Earconberht, king of Kent. When Ætheldrytha had been buried sixteen years, i.e. in 695, Sexburga took up her remains with the intention of removing them into the church. She accordingly ordered the brethren to provide a suitable stone with which to make a tomb. Bede says they set out in a boat (*ascensa navi*) because the country of Ely (*regio Elye*) was on every side encompassed with the sea or marshes, and contained no large stones. Presently they came to an abandoned town not far thence, which in the Anglian language was called Grantchester (now a small village near Cambridge, occupying the site of a Roman town), and there, close to the city wall, they found a white marble coffin very beautifully wrought and covered with a lid of the same material. This they took back to the monastery.

When Ætheldrytha's wooden coffin was opened, we are told by Bede that her body was found as free from corruption as if she had died and been buried that very day. This was attested, he adds, by Bishop Wilfrid and many others who knew about it. Among them was Cynifrid the physician, who had operated upon a swelling under her jaw when she was living, in order to let out the noxious matter. He reported that "when the body was taken out of the grave and put in a position close by, and while all the congregation of the brethren were on one side and that of the sisters on the other, standing around and singing, the Abbess with a few others having gone on to wash the remains, I heard the corpse say, 'Glory be to the name of the Lord.' Not long after they called me in, and I saw the body of the Holy Virgin taken out of the grave and laid on a bed as if it had been asleep. Then taking a veil from her face, they showed me the incision I had made, which had healed up, so that instead of a gaping wound, there was only a slender scar. The linen clothes in which the body had been wrapped looked as fresh and perfect as if they had only just been placed about her chaste limbs."

Cynifrid added that the dead Abbess used to say that the trouble in her neck had arisen because she had there borne the needless weight of jewels. By having had this pain in this world, she trusted to be relieved from the future punishment due to her levity, and said that where she had had gold and pearls, a red and burning boil grew on her neck. It was reported that by the touch of her garments devils were called Huneya after him. His miracles became famous, and therefore valuable, and his remains were removed to Thorney Island (*Ang. Sac.*, i. 600).

expelled from possessed bodies and other disorders were sometimes cured ; while by touching the coffin in which she was first buried, with their heads, suffering men were said to have been cured of diseases of the eyes. Having washed the body, the virgins put it in new clothes, carried it into the church, and laid it in the marble sarcophagus, which had been taken with due ceremony thither. The body just fitted it, and there was afterwards a hollow where it had lain.¹

"The present stately fane of Ely," says Mr. Raine, "owes its existence to the renown of St. Ætheldryda, who was regarded as one of the greatest of the mediæval saints." The church she had constructed perished in the Danish inroad of 866-7, but the marauders did no harm to the coffin. The building was restored about a century afterwards by King Edgar, when it became a home of Benedictine monks and by degrees acquired great estates. In 1107 the see of Ely was founded, and its long series of abbots came to an end. One of the last official acts of Richard, the last abbot, was the translation of St. Ætheldrytha's remains to the Norman church he had built. This was in the presence of the Bishop of Thetford and a great concourse of people.² William of Malmesbury says that when her tomb was then opened, the body was found intact and she looked as if she was sleeping. The silken covering to her head, her veil and garments were all intact, her cheeks were flushed, her teeth white, her lips a little shrunk, and her breasts small.³ Over her old marble tomb was now raised a richly ornamented wooden shrine, which was carried about on festival days. In 1144 the monks stripped the shrine of much of its silver work in order to meet the pecuniary necessities of Bishop Nigel, who later gave them the Manor of Hadstock for the purpose of ornamenting and repairing the shrine, and it was afterwards much enriched by Bishops Redel and de Burgh. In 1235 Bishop Northwold, who built the splendid choir, erected a new shrine for Ætheldrytha and the other Saints of the House in the presbytery. Of this a sketch is still preserved. The shrine was destroyed at the Reformation.⁴

William of Malmesbury reports a curious miracle of her. When the Danes devastated the church, one of them marched off with the rich covering of her tomb and then struck the latter

¹ Bede, iv. 191.

² Thomas of Ely, *Ang. Sacra*, i. 613; *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, ii. 221.

³ G.P., p. 325.

⁴ *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, ii. 221.

with his two-headed axe. This made a hole in it, but a fragment flew off, struck him on the eye and knocked him senseless. Some time after, one of the secular priests attached to the monastery wanting to make sure that the body of the saint was not corrupted, inserted a candle into the hole just named, and tried to drag her garments through it; but the saint herself pulled them back so as to cover her naked body. He was punished by becoming half-witted.¹

Bede wrote a poem on St. Ætheldrytha which he inserts in his *Ecclesiastical History*, and in which pagan allusions are interspersed with Christian ones. I think it should find a place here as a specimen of his own versification in Latin, which our first historian thought worthy of being preserved in his great work. It runs thus :

“ Alma Deus Trinitas, quae secula cuncta gubernas,
 Adnue jam coepitis, alma Deus Trinitas.
 Bella Maro resonet, nos pacis dona canamus :
 Munera nos Christi, bella Maro resonet.
 Carmina casta mihi, foedae non raptus Helenae,
 Luxus erit lubricis, carmina casta mihi.
 Dona superna loquar, miserae non praelia Trojae
 Terra quibus gaudet: dona superna loquar.
 En Deus altus adit venerandae Virginis alvum:
 Liberet ut homines en Deus altus adit.
 Femina Virgo parit mundi devota Parentem,
 Porta Maria Dei, femina Virgo parit.
 Gaudet amica cohors, de Virgine matre Tonantis :
 Virginitate micans gaudet amica cohors.
 Hujus honor genuit casto de germine plures,
 Virgineos flores hujus honor genuit.
 Ignibus usta feris Virgo non cessat Agatha,
 Eulalia et perfert ignibus usta feris.
 Casta feras superat mentis pro culmine Tecla,
 Euphemia sacra casta feras superat.
 Laeta ridet gladios ferro robustior Agnes,
 Caecilia infestos laeta ridet gladios,
 Multus in orbe viget per sobria corda triumphus,
 Sobrietatis amor multus in orbe viget.
 Nostra quoque egregia jam tempora virgo beavit :
 Aedilithryda nitet nostra quoque egregia
 Orta patre eximio, regali et stemmate clara :
 Nobilior Domino est, orta patre eximio.
 Percipit inde decus reginae, et sceptra sub astris,
 Plus super astra manens, percipit inde decus.
 Quid petis alma virum, Sponso jam dedita summo?

¹ William of Malmesbury, *G.P.*, 323 and 324.

Sponsus adest Christus, quid petis alma virum ?
 Regis ut aetherei matrem jam credo sequaris :
 Tu quoque sis mater Regis ut aetherei.
 Sponsa dicata Deo bis sex regnaverat annis,
 Inque monasterio est sponsa dicata Deo.
 Tota sacra polo celsis ubi floruit actis
 Reddidit atque animam tota sacra polo.
 Virginis alma caro est tumulata bis octo Novembres,
 Nec putet in tumulo virginis alma caro.
 Christe, tui est operis, quia vestis et ipsa sepulchro
 Inviolata nitet: Christe, tui est operis.
 Hydros et ater abit sacrae pro vestis honore,
 Morbi diffugiunt, hydros et ater abit
 Zelus in hoste furiit quandam qui vicerat Evam :
 Virgo triumphat ovans, zelus in hoste furiit.
 Aspice nupta Deo, quae sit tibi gloria terris ;
 Quae maneat caelis aspice nupta Deo.
 Munera laeta capis festivis fulgida taedis,
 Ecce venit Sponsus, munera laeta capis.
 Et nova dulcisono modularis carmina plectro :
 Sponsa hymno exultas et nova dulcisono.
 Nullus ab Altithroni comitatu segregat agni,
 Quam affectu tulerat nullus ab Altithroni.”¹

It will be noted that the poem is an experiment in verse-making, in which the same clause of three words occurs in each two of the successive lines.

When St. Chad went to Lastingham there went with him a certain notable person called Wini or Owin, who employed himself in manual labour outside the monastery. He had been born in the kingdom of East Anglia, and had accompanied Aetheldrytha when she went to marry King Ecgfrid in 660, as steward of her household. Bede, iv. 3, calls him *primus ministrorum et princeps domus ejus*, which in the Anglo-Saxon version is translated “the chief of her thanes and house and of all her ealdormen.” On the death of St. Chad he apparently returned to Ely, and is reported to have lived at Winford, near Haddenham. Bishop Browne says that some years ago the base of the village cross at Haddenham, which had sunk deep into the ground, was dug out, and it was found to be inscribed with the words, *Lucem Tuam Ovino da Deus et requiem* (Give Thy light, O God, and rest to Owin).² The stone is now in the nave at Ely. His death-day in the calendar is 4th March. The authors of the *Aa. SS. Mart.*, i. 312, say there was once a church dedicated to him at Gloucester. Thomas of Ely calls

¹ *H.E.*, iv. 20.

² *Conv. of the Heptarchy*, 214.

him *custos et procer* of the Queen, and he probably had charge of her patrimony of Ely. Bede tells us he abandoned this dignified position, and how, attracted by devotion to the saint, he had joined him with his axe and hatchet, and inasmuch as he was no scholar, he asked permission to be allowed to join the brotherhood as a workman. When St. Chad became Bishop of Lichfield he accompanied him thither. I have previously described the pretty legend of St. Chad's death, in which he so prominently figures.

Ætheldrytha was succeeded as Abbess of Ely by her sister Sexburga. She had been married to Earconberht, king of Kent, by whom she had had two sons, Ecgberht and Llothaire, who successively ruled over the kingdom after their father, and two daughters, Earcongota and Eormengilda.¹ Thomas of Ely has partially confused her with another Sexburga, who was queen of Mercia. On the death of her husband she built a nunnery at Sheppey, which was endowed by her son King Ecgberht with lands, etc. There she adopted the veil and collected a body of seventy-eight disciples.² In the *Hist. Eliensis*, i. chap. 36, which quotes a book of her *Gesta*, she is said to have received the veil from Archbishop Theodore. According to Florence of Worcester,³ she founded the monastery as a burial-place for her husband, but Thorn (*Col.*, 1769) says he was buried at St. Augustine's at Canterbury. He may have been removed there.

After being for some time at Sheppey, she in 679 joined her sister Ætheldrytha at Ely. The *Book of Ely* tells us how before she left she foretold to her nuns the ravages which would presently be caused by the Danes, which had been disclosed to her in a dream. She also endowed the monastery with many lands.⁴ She was buried near Ætheldrytha in the church at Ely. When in 1106 the new church there was rebuilt, the bodies of the two saintly sisters were translated, and the tomb of Sexburga was opened. Her remains, partly bones and partly dust, were found wrapped in silk, each in a separate shrine. They lay in the tomb just as St. Ethelwold, who had sealed it

¹ Thomas of Ely, *Ang. Sac.*, i. 595.

² *Ib.* i. 595, 596.

³ *M.H.B.*, 636.

⁴ The year of her death is not known, but must have been after 673. Her death-day in the calendar was July the 6th. A fragment of an eleventh-century Life of her is preserved in the Lambeth MS. 427 (see Hardy, *Cat. Brit. Hist.*, i. 362), and certain lections on her life are preserved (see MS. Cott. Cat., A, viii. 89-91).

with lead, had placed them. They were now folded in clean wrappers and the tomb was again fastened with lead by Abbot Richard, and placed on the left of that of her sister.¹

Eormengilda, the daughter of Sexburga by Earconberht, king of Kent, married the great Mercian ruler, Wulfhere, on whose death in 674 she joined her mother Sexburga at Sheppey and took the veil there. When her mother moved to Ely she became Abbess of Sheppey, and on the death of Sexburga she was elected Abbess of Ely. There she died and was buried with her mother and aunt.² When the church at Ely was rebuilt in the year 1106, and the various saints buried there were translated, her tomb was opened and, according to Thomas of Ely, her remains were found lying in a grave without any covering (*absque velamine!*), as Bishop Ethelwold must have placed them. They were now collected, wrapped in a clean cloth, and deposited in a tomb on the left of those of St. Ætheldrytha. It also was duly sealed with lead.³

Eormengilda's daughter by Wulfhere was called Werburga. On her father's death she went with her mother to Kent and lived under her at Sheppey, and apparently accompanied her to Ely. As we read in her *Life*, she was induced by her uncle, King Æthelred, to preside over a monastery in Mercia, in which kingdom she became perhaps the most famous female saint. She is reported to have founded monasteries at Trickingham, Handbury, and Weedon.⁴ She apparently presided over all the monasteries of her own foundation, and according to her English *Life*, when her mother died she also succeeded to the government of Ely. It further reports that there was a great anxiety among her various monasteries as to where she would be buried when she should die. This she decided for them by selecting that at Heanbirig (*i.e.* Handbury), about five miles from Repton, and she left instructions that wherever she might die her remains were to be translated thither. She actually died at Trytengeham (*i.e.* Trickingham), and was laid away on the 3rd of February,⁵ which is St. Werburg's Day. The very same night the community from Handbury came and carried off the body with great joy to their own abbey. Nine years later it was reported

¹ Thomas of Ely, *Ang. Sac.*, i. 613.

² *Ib.* 596.

³ *Ang. Sac.*, i. 613.

⁴ Bright, *op. cit.* 456.

⁵ William of Worcester assigns 21st June to St. Werburga of Chester. This perhaps refers to the translation of her remains thither. Stubbs, *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iv. 1174, 1175.

to be still undecayed. This was in the reign of King Ceolred of Mercia, who died in 716.

The monasteries presided over by Werburga were doubtless all destroyed and ravaged by the Danes. According to the late writers, Brompton and Higden, when in 875 Burgred, king of Mercia, was driven from Repton by them, her remains were translated to Chester. The nunnery there where they afterwards lay, and which was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, was restored by Athelstan, who rededicated it to St. Werburga.¹ It is curious that Jocelyn does not mention this translation.

As a proof of the popularity of the saint may be mentioned the number of dedications of churches to her which still remain; others were probably changed in Norman times. Dr. Stubbs thus enumerates them. He says: "Not only is the great church at Chester dedicated in her name, but at least eight churches in other parts of England are called after her. One of these, Hoo St. Werburgh, lies at no great distance from Sheppey; others are at Derby, Bristol, Warburton in Cheshire, Kingsley in Staffordshire, Blackwell in Derbyshire, Wembury in Devonshire, Warbstow in Cornwall, and a church in Dublin.² The last three of these churches are far from Mercia and not easy to explain.³ The names of Werburgmore in Mercia⁴ and Werburglingham in Thanet⁵ may denote property which was either by dedication or inheritance connected with her."⁶

The great place St. Werburga fills in the history of Chester is doubtless due to the wealth of her church there, which was very richly endowed by Earl Leofric in 1057. This church was rebuilt afterwards, and was attached first to a Benedictine abbey, and at the Reformation became the cathedral of the diocese.

Some of the miracles attributed to her are picturesque. Of these it will suffice to mention two. On one occasion a flock of wild geese alighted among the reeds on some land of hers. She told her servant to drive them into the farmstead. He was most surprised to find the wild geese were so tractable. Thinking no one would find it out, he took one of them, cooked it and ate it. The theft, however, was disclosed to his mistress by the unusual behaviour of the other geese. She had the bones of the cooked

¹ William of Malmesbury, *G.P.*, 308.

² Stubbs, *loc. cit.*

³ Miss Arnold-Forster adds to these, churches at Hanbury, Treneglos, and formerly at Spondon.

⁴ Kemble, *C.D.*, 78, 217.

⁵ Thomas of Elmham, p. 19.

⁶ Stubbs, *op. cit.* iv. 1175.

bird collected, and miraculously restored, not only its flesh and feathers, but also its life. Thereupon the whole flock paid her reverence and flew away.¹ On another occasion "she miraculously caused the head of a steward, who was scourging a lady named Ailnoth, to turn round on his shoulders so that he looked backwards. It was afterwards put right again at the intercession of the saint."²

I have now related the story of two of King Anna's famous daughters, Ætheldrytha and Sexburga, and of the latter's descendants, and will turn to a third one called Withburga, whose life is recorded by Thomas of Ely. He says that she was sent with her nurse to be brought up at Holkham near the sea, where a church was afterwards built in her honour and named Withburgestowe. On her father's death she determined to adopt a religious life and withdrew to Dereham, twenty miles from Holkham, where he had a property, and built a monastery there. While it was being built she was reduced to great want and had to subsist on the dry bread provided for the workmen. Thereupon, says the saga, the Virgin came to her help and bade her send some girls to the bridge over the neighbouring stream where they would find two wild animals, who would allow them to milk them. The maids duly went there and found two does, and secured so much milk from them that it filled a large vessel which had to be carried by its two handles by two men; whereupon the whole community's needs were supplied. Malmesbury says that she was attended by a tame doe, which was shot by a ruthless prefect, who thereupon was struck with the king's evil. Withburga died on the 17th of March 743, and was buried in the graveyard at Dereham. After fifty-five years, her body was found to be uncorrupted and was translated into the church in 797. If this date is right, says Stubbs, she must then have been ninety years old (for her father Anna died in 654). There she remained till the time of King Eadgar, that is to say, until the 8th of July 974, in which year and day Abbot Brythnoth of Ely, with the consent of the king and Bishop Æthelwold, removed the body to his monastery and put her beside her sisters. The life of the saint, from which Thomas of Ely reports these facts, was no doubt used both by Florence of Worcester³ and the compiler of the later MSS. of the *Anglo-*

¹ William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Pont.*, ed. Hamilton, 308-9.

² Stubbs, *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iv. 1174.

³ *Vide sub an. 798.*

Saxon Chronicle. In the genealogical table attached to Florence, Withburga is wrongly called Withgytha.

In regard to her translation, William of Malmesbury reports a miracle. He says that the body was transferred by water, which was then the only means of approach to the island of Ely. The natives of the place opposed the removal very violently. The boatmen lost their way in the monotonous marshes, but were at length guided by a column of fire from heaven. He adds that in his day artificial roads had been made across the fens by putting embankments in the water, over which people could go dryshod.¹ At the place where she was originally buried at Dereham, a fountain of pure water is said to have broken out.²

When Abbot Richard rebuilt the church at Ely, he again translated the body of St. Withburga with those of her sisters. Thomas of Ely tells us that Withburga's remains were found fresh and intact, as were the vestments in which she was buried. So also was her wooden coffin; its iron hasps (*ferreis*) and keys, however, were corroded. A monk of Westminster called Warner raised the remains and proved that her arms and hands were still flexible. This was also seen and attested by Herbert, Bishop of Thetford, and many others who were there. The saint was buried again close to her sisters. Malmesbury grows eloquent over her peaceful face, her florid cheeks, her white teeth, her shrunken lips, and her small breasts.³ The facts reported about the freshness of her remains caused a great cult of them to be prosecuted, and they were presently placed in a silver reliquary. A polemic arose about them between the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely, the former of whom urged that the treasure had been improperly removed from his diocese. The dispute was submitted to the king, and afterwards to the Pope for decision, but it would appear that she continued to rest beside her sisters until the Reformation, when their remains were all ruthlessly destroyed.

We have told the story of Eormengilda, one of Sexburga's daughters. We must now turn to the latter's other daughter, Earcongota. Of her, Bede says that she joined the monastery founded by Saint Fara at Brie, known as Faremoutier en Brie, and also as Eboriacum, to which the Frankish Queen Bathildis was a great benefactress. There Earcongota became

¹ G.P., 325.

² Ang. Sacr., 605 and 606.

³ G.P., 325.

Abbess. Bede says that many works and miracles were reported of her by the people near the monastery, but he limits himself to one relating to her departure from the world. When the day of her death was approaching, she visited the several nuns in that part of the monastery where the very old and infirm who had been especially godly were lodged. She commended herself to their prayers, and told them she knew by revelation she was about to die, and said she had seen a number of men all dressed in white enter the monastery. On her asking them what they wanted and what they were doing there, they told her they had come to carry away "the gold medal which had come to them from Kent." When the night had nearly passed and dawn had arrived, says Bede, she left the darkness of the world and departed to the light of heaven. This is a proof that the monastery was a double one.

Many of the brethren declared that they had plainly heard a concert of angels singing and a noise as of a great multitude entering the monastery. "On going out they saw an extraordinary light sent down from heaven, which conducted that holy soul, released from the bonds of the flesh, to the joys of heaven." The body of the saint was buried in the church of the proto-martyr Stephen. Three days later it was thought fit to take up the stone covering of the grave, and to raise it higher in the same place; whereupon so great a fragrance proceeded from below that it seemed to those present as if a storhouse of balsams had been opened.

Earcongota was not the only descendant of King Anna who presided over the famous Abbey of Faremoutier. Her aunt Æthelberga (who is called his natural daughter by Bede)¹ also went there, and Bede has something to say of her. He tells us that whilst she was Abbess she began to build a church in the monastery in honour of all the Apostles, where her body might be laid; but she died before it was half finished, and was nevertheless buried in the very spot in the church which she had fixed. The brethren were at the time occupied with other matters, and the building was stopped for seven years, and then finding that the work before them was too great, they determined to give it up entirely and to translate the remains of the Abbess

¹ This phrase in this particular place is probably meant to contrast her with Sæthryd, who is called the daughter of his wife. But it is well to remember that the phrase was used in its modern sense as early as the time of Ulpian (see Plummer, ii. 149).

to some church already finished. When they opened the coffin they found the body quite fresh. Having washed it and put fresh clothes on it, they translated it to the Church of the Blessed Stephen, and her nativity was celebrated there on the 7th of July.¹

There was a third English lady who joined the same community at Faremoutier, namely Sæthryd. Bede calls her the daughter of the wife of Anna, and she was therefore his step-daughter, which points to his wife having been twice married.

Let us now return again to Kent. As we have seen, Formenred, the eldest son of Eadbald, king of Kent, died before his father, leaving by his wife Oslawa two sons and two daughters. The former were murdered at the instance of their uncle Ecgberht, the younger son of Eadbald.² One of her daughters, Eormenburga or Eomenberga, styled Domneva, married Merewald, the ruler of the Hwiccas, under the supremacy of Mercia, and the reported founder of a monastery at Leominster. He was a younger son of Penda. They had a son, Merewin, and three daughters—Mildred, Milburga, and Milgith. We have already followed the fortunes of Milburga. Apparently, after the death of her husband, Eormenburga was invited to return to Kent by her uncle, King Ecgberht,³ who offered her a handsome estate as a compensation for the homicide of her brothers.⁴ He left it to her choice where the estate should be, and she fixed upon the Isle of Thanet, reputed, as Bede tells us, to be the most fruitful part of England, and told the king that she would like to have it there. It had apparently belonged to Thunor, the murderer of her brothers, and she asked that she might have as much land as a hunted hind could gallop round in one course. This the king granted, and when the hind reached a great mound called Thunorslaw (*Agger vastus illi loco impositus qui Thunorislaew⁵ dicitur*), Thunor indignantly asked the king how much longer he intended following the dumb animal, whereupon the earth opened.⁶ The MS. life of the Saint by Ælfric here ends abruptly, but Symeon of Durham, who continues the story, says that Thunor was swallowed up in the

¹ Bede, *H.E.*, iii. 8.

² *Ante*, i. 247.

³ It is possible that she may have been the widow of Ecgfrid, King of Northumbria, who had the same name and possibly married him when he was deserted by Saint Ætheldrytha.

⁴ *Ante*, i. 248.

⁵ It was afterwards called Thunorsleap.

⁶ Hardy, *op. cit.* i. 382. 383.

chasm with his horse and arms, whereupon the king ordered his body to be covered with a great cairn of stones ; his soul, says the Monk of Durham, was reserved for everlasting burning in the dreadful fires of hell. "The place," he adds, "is called by wayfarers Thunersleap." This name, which is a corruption, no doubt, gave rise to the legend about the chasm and Thunor having leapt into it. The real name of the cairn, as we learn from Jocelyn and Capgrave, was Thunorslaw, *i.e.* Thunor's burial-mound. A very interesting map of the island of Thanet, with the course of the stag traced on it, is given in the MS. of Thomas of Elmham.

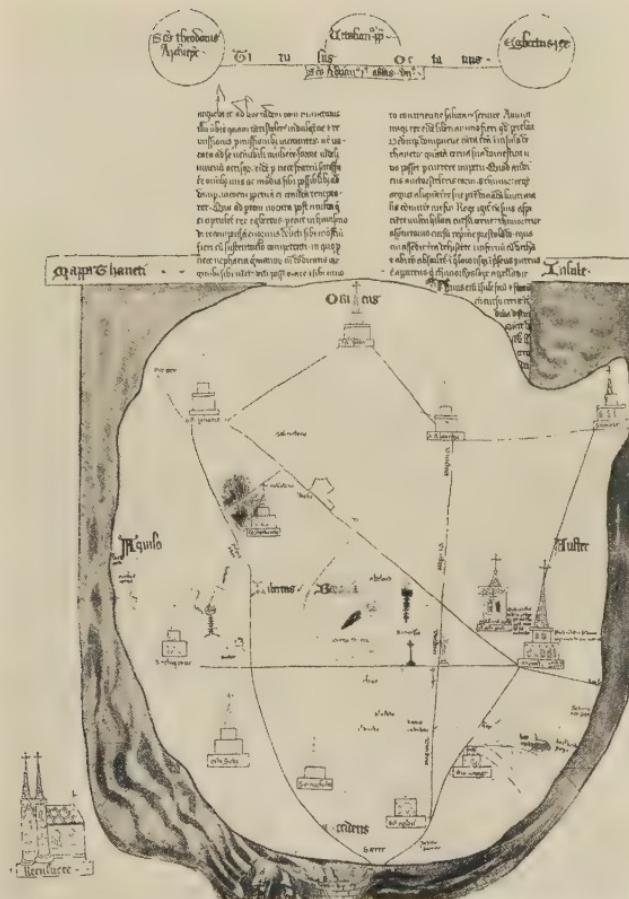
Eormenberga built a monastery and church on the land made over to her by King Ecgberht, which was dedicated to the Virgin.¹ When she had built her monastery, since widely known as Minster, in Thanet, she dedicated it to the memory of her two murdered brothers, and determined to set her daughter Mildred over it. She accordingly sent her to be trained abroad. Symeon of Durham, no doubt following Ælfric's Life of Mildred, merely says "*in transmarinas partes*" ; while Jocelyn says expressly she was sent to Kalas, *i.e.* Chelles, near Paris, a favourite place of education for the daughters of Saxon nobles.² At this point Jocelyn relates one of his extravagant stories. He says that that monastery was then presided over by the Abbess Wilcoma — doubtless an Englishwoman (*quod bene venias resonat anglica lingua*). A kinsman of this Abbess being anxious to marry Mildred, the latter refused, whereupon we are gravely told she was thrown into a furnace by Wilcoma, but miraculously escaped unhurt. The Abbess then beat her and tortured her in various ways, but with no better success. Mildred contrived to inform her mother of her position. She sent the message by the bearer of a psalter, which she had herself written and which she now sent with some of her hair, no doubt to identify the sender. Her mother commanded her to return, but the Abbess refused to let her go, whereupon she furtively escaped and landed at Ipplesfleot, *i.e.* Ebbsfleet, where a chapel was afterwards built to commemorate the event.³ In her Life we are told that, on landing, the saint impressed her feet miraculously on the squared stone on which she stepped, which afterwards effected miracles of healing.⁴ She brought with her from France some vestments and relics, together with a nail from Christ's cross (*clavis crucifixionis Dominicæ*). She joined her mother's

¹ Symeon of Durham, *M.H.B.*, 649.

² Hardy, *op. cit.* i. 377.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ This seems a repetition of a similar story told of Augustine.



THE AMBIT OF EORMENBERGA'S ESTATE IN THANET.

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monastery, of which she afterwards became Abbess, and where she had a band of seventy nuns. She was consecrated by Archbishop Theodore or, as Symeon of Durham says, by Archbishop Deusdedit. The date of her death is apparently not known, but she was commemorated on 13th July. Stubbs speaks of the numerous dedications of churches to St. Mildred, and the frequent use of her name as a baptismal name. Churches dedicated to her exist in Bread Street and in the Poultry in London, and others at Preston, Canterbury, and Whippingham. There was also one at Oxford, but it has been demolished.¹ Of this Dr. Bright says, every one who passes up Brasenose Lane traverses ground belonging of old to a church named after the canonised granddaughter of Penda, and three columns of its crypt remain under the common room of Lincoln College.² She is mentioned in several charters, all of which are, I believe, spurious. In the *De Gestis Regum*, which has passed under the name of Symeon, a story is told of her that one day when she was resting and had fallen asleep, a dove came down and, alighting on her head, protected her from the attacks of evil spirits.³

On her death she was succeeded as Abbess of Minster by Eadburga, who, according to Thorn, was her mother's sister.

The church which had been built by Eormenberga, and was dedicated to the Virgin, had become too small to accommodate the sisterhood, so she built a larger one a little distance away, which she dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and which was consecrated by Archbishop Cuthberht.⁴

To this church St. Mildred's remains were translated. In later days a fierce fight took place between the monks of St. Augustine and the canons of St. Gregory, both of Canterbury, in regard to these relics, which were such a valuable possession. There seems little doubt that the claims of the monks of St. Augustine's were supported by a series of forgeries and concocted story. According to the latter, Abbot Ælstan, with the consent of King Cnut, who was passing through Kent on his way to Rome, transferred the remains of the saint to his monastery of St. Augustine, where he placed the saint's tomb in the choir "near the great candlestick called Jesse."⁵ In the time of Abbot Wilfrid the younger, it was transferred to the *porticus* of St.

¹ *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iii. 914. Miss Arnold-Forster adds others at Ipswich, Lee, Nursted, and Tenterden.

² *Op. cit.* 273.

⁴ Thomas of Elmham, 217.

³ *M.H.B.*, 639.

⁵ Thorn, *Twysden*, 1910.

Augustine's Church. Thorn claims that the night before the translation, a monk of the Abbey, who was also sacristan, called Maurus, saw the vision of a virgin in a nun's dress, which informed him that she was St. Mildred and was going to be translated the following day, and quotes this as conclusive against "the Gregorians." He also says that Abbot Egelwine had carried off the key of Ælstan's shrine to Denmark and afterwards returned it to Abbot Scotland, and it was found to open this shrine. No one recognised the key except Godwyn the Dean, who had been present at the first translation by Ælstan. When they opened the chest or coffin (*archa*) they found a leaden case, and inside it a wooden one much decayed, in which was a glittering cloth which contained the bones and arms of the saint. The whole were now transferred to a new sarcophagus, where they remained till the year 1262, when they were removed to a fresh one, on which was inscribed :

"Clauditur hoc saxo Mildreda sacerrima virgo
Cujus nos precibus adjuvet ipse Deus."

When the translation took place, says Thorn, a leaden vessel with a leaden label was found, reading :

*"Hoc in loculo habetur pulvis Dei dilectae virginis Mildredae,
ossa vero ejus in tumba ipsius clausa saxo durissinio requiescunt."*¹

At her tomb daily Mass was said in her memory.

We can hardly doubt that the whole of this story was a concoction of the monks of St. Augustine's, who were most adept at the art. Thorn has an additional story illustrating the methods by which great men were in those days induced to foster monasteries. He says that when King Edward I. was once crossing the sea from Flanders a terrible storm arose and the ship was driven towards Thanet. The king saw a vision of the saint surrounded by her nuns standing on the shore and impelling the waves against the ship with her abbess's staff. When the king appealed to her she replied that she would comply with his wish if he would restore to her monastery some of the possessions of which it had been deprived, and he quotes the document by which the king presently conveyed the lands in question.²

While the monks of St. Augustine's claimed to possess the saint's remains, a similar claim, as I have said, and perhaps

¹ Thorn, *op. cit.* 1912-13.

² *Op. cit.* 1962 and 1963.

equally dubious, was set up by the canons of St. Gregory at Canterbury. According to their story, which is reported by a champion of the other side, namely, Thomas of Elmham, the canons urged that in early times the remains of St. Mildred had been translated to Lyminge. Thence they were again removed in 1085, in the time of Archbishop Lanfranc. If their story was as Thomas reports it, it seems clear that their case was not a very strong one. A famous polemical pamphlet against the canons and their claims was written by Jocelyn, the monk of St. Augustine's, which was entitled *Libellus contra manes usurpatores Sanctae Mildrithae*. Thomas of Elmham also makes a good fight in his book for his own monastery.

According to the *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. iii. p. 514, a number of her relics were preserved at Deventer.

Thomas of Elmham further reports a remarkable saga about St. Mildred's remains, which he quotes from the tract on the translation of her relics. He says that in the time of William the Conqueror a certain knight broke into a barrack (*militis hospitio*) and stole the greater part of its contents. He was captured and imprisoned in the castle of Canterbury and put in fetters. On the vigil of the saint, stirred by the sound of the bells of the monastery summoning people to its services, he had a yearning to go thither himself. He found his chains loosened, while the custodians were paralysed. The gates of the castle were opened, and he fled to the monastery, the gates of which were closed, but was able to creep through the windows of the crypt, nor was he pursued. He thereupon proceeded to secure some portion of the hair, the neck, legs, arms, feet, and of the vestments and girdle of the virgin to whom he was devoted, and who had assisted him in escaping from the prison. The sacristan, hearing a noise in the church, collected a number of people, by whom the runaway was recaptured.¹

As we have seen, Mildred was succeeded as Abbess by her aunt Eadburga, who is reported to have died in 751.²

There is a special interest about Eadburga from the fact that she was one of the correspondents of Archbishop Boniface. The first of his letters to her is dated about 717, and was apparently written by him before he left England, and under his early name of Wynfrid. In it he sends her an account, which he had also sent to Hildelitha, the Abbess of Barking, of the visions of the monk of Wenlock reported in a later

¹ Thomas of Elmham, 224 and 225.

² *Ib.* 220.

page.¹ He ends the letter gracefully with an alliteration, a mode of composition then in fashion :—

“ Vale ; verae virgo vitae ut et vivas angelicae ;
Recto rite et rumore regnes semper in aethere
Christum.”²

In a second letter written to Boniface by Leobgytha in 732, then a nun in England, who went to Germany in 737, she speaks of Eadburga as an accomplished Latin versifier.³ In 735 the Bishop writes her a letter, in which he thanks her for having sent a present of books “to the exile living in Germany, which would light up the dark recesses of the German race.” The same year he again writes to her asking her to copy out for him in golden letters the Epistles of St. Peter, of which he had special need.⁴ Some time between 742 and 746 he again writes to Eadburga telling her of his troubles and labours, and asking for her prayers for himself and the pagans, whom he had been charged to rescue from idolatry.⁵ In 745–46 he sends her a further graceful letter, in which he says he is sending her some small presents (*parva munuscula*), including a silver style or pen (*graphium*), and some spices (*storacis et cinnamonia*), and tells her that if she needs anything else which he could send her, she must inform him by his messenger Ceolla or otherwise.⁶ Leobgytha, one of his pupils, also corresponded with Boniface, as we have seen, and sent him specimens of her verses, which she claimed to have composed “according to the rules derived from the poets, not in a spirit of presumption but with the desire of exciting her slender talents and in the hope of his assistance.” She said she had learned the art from the Abbess Eadburga, who was ever occupied in studying the divine law. The following four hexameters conclude a poem addressed to Boniface by Leobgytha, and comprise a blessing upon him :

“ Arbitr omnipotens, solus qui cuncta creavit
In regno patris semper qui lumine fulget,
Qua jugiter flagrans sic regnat gloria Christi,
Inlesum servet semper te jure perenni.”

(*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Ep. iii. 281 ; Wright, *Biog. Britt.*, i. 32 and 33.)

Let us now turn to the famous Abbey of Barking, in Essex, founded out of his private patrimony, as we have seen, by Earconwald, afterwards Bishop of London, as a monastery for

¹ *Ante*, vol. ii. 379.

² *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Ep. iii. 257.

³ *Ib.* 281.

⁴ *Ib.* 285 and 286.

⁵ *Ib.* 333 and 334.

⁶ *Ib.* 337 and 338.

women, and over which he put his sister Æthelberga.¹ Bede says of her: "She behaved herself in all respects as became the sister of such an episcopal brother, living rigorously and piously and according to rule, providing for those under her, as was manifested by heavenly miracles."² I have elsewhere described her death from the plague.³ Bede says that when she was approaching her end a wonderful vision appeared to one of the sisters called Torctgyd, who had lived many years in the monastery and had taught the young people there. She had, however, been stricken with a serious complaint, from which she suffered for nine years. Bede attributes this affliction to the direct action of the Redeemer, who desired that the faults she had committed, either through ignorance or neglect, might be purged in this world. One morning at dawn, as she left the house she saw a vision of a human body, more effulgent than the sun, and wrapped in a sheet, being lifted up and carried out of the house. It was being drawn along by a number of cords brighter than gold, and at length entered the open heaven and passed out of sight. She interpreted this as meaning that one of their sisterhood was about to die and to go to heaven, and, in fact, a few days later their mother Æthelburga took her departure.

Three years later Torctgyd had become so ill that not only were all her limbs paralysed but her tongue also. She again saw a vision and was able to speak to it, and begged that the delay in summoning her to another place might not be prolonged beyond the next night. On being asked whom she had been talking to, she replied that it was their mother Æthelburga. They understood this to mean that the latter had come to summon her.⁴

Bede tells another story of a nun who was much afflicted by illness, and so disabled that she could not move a limb. Being informed that the body of the Abbess was being carried into the church preparatory to placing it in the tomb, she desired to be carried thither too, and to be placed near the body in the attitude of one praying, whereupon the Abbess spoke to her as if she had been living, and she begged her to pray for her that she might be delivered from her sickness, which occurred twelve days later, when she died.

Such were the naïve and simple tales which brought consolation and comfort to the much believing folk of the eighth century. It is necessary for those who study the period to take note of them, as

¹ *Ante*, i. 426.

² *Bede*, iv. 6.

³ See *St. Augustine the Missionary*, 363-65.

⁴ *Bede*, iv. 9.

they are almost the only information we have about the way people then faced the greater problems that still embarrass us all.

The death-day of Æthelburga in the calendar is 11th October. Florence of Worcester says she died in 676, which Stubbs says is very doubtful.¹ There is more probability that she was the patron saint of St. Æthelburga's church in London.

Bede tells us that she was succeeded as Abbess of Barking by a certain person. He does not say who she was. According to the legendary Life of Earconwald, she was a foreign lady invited by him to instruct his sister in her monastic duties, from which, says Stubbs, it has been inferred that she came from Chelles. Father Haigh suggests that she perhaps came from Northumbria, and possibly was a relative of St. Hilda. This he infers from her name (Hildelitha). Bede says she presided over the monastery at Barking till she was of great age, and did so in a most exemplary way. On account of the smallness of the site, she determined that the bodies of the female and male servants of Christ who were buried in it should be translated into the Church of the Blessed Mother of God and there interred. Bede says that in the book from which he gathered these facts it was reported that a heavenly light was often seen there and a sweet fragrance proceeded thence, as well as other miracles. Of these he mentions one. The wife of a certain nobleman who lived close by was seized with dimness in her eyes, which became so bad that she could not see. She therefore had herself carried into the cemetery and prayed for help at the grave of the saint. Almost immediately she recovered her sight and was able to return home without assistance.²

The fame of Abbess Hildelitha must have been very great, for, as we have seen, St. Aldhelm dedicated to her and other sisters of her house his famous work entitled *De laudibus Virginitatis* (which I have described in an earlier page). In the preface to this he apostrophises her as *Hildelitha regularis disciplinae et monasticae conversationis magistra*. The other nuns of the abbey whom he mentions were Justina and Cuthburga, Osburga, Aldgida and Scholastica, Hedburga and Burrigida, Eulalia and Tecla—some of which are actual names and others adopted names in religion. In the concluding sentence of his work he apostrophises them thus: *Valete, flores ecclesiae sorores*

¹ *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, ii. 219.

² *Bede*, iv. 10.

*monasticae, alumnae scholasticae Christi margaritae, paradisi gemmae et coelestis patriae participes.*¹

To the poetical edition of this work Aldhelm prefixes a preface forming a double acrostic, addressed not to Hidelitha by name but “ad maximam Abbatissam.”² As Aldhelm died in 709, this poem must have been written before that year.

In 717 or 718 she is mentioned in a letter written by St. Boniface to Eadburga, the Abbess of Minster in Thanet, enclosing an account of the visions of a Wenlock monk, which he says he had already sent to the Venerable Abbess Hidelitha.³ Her death-day is given in the calendar as the 24th of March; the year is uncertain. Cuthburga, the first abbess of Wimborne, was one of her pupils and is one of the nuns mentioned, as I have said, in Aldhelm’s tract in praise of virginity.

The successor of Hidelitha at Barking is not specifically mentioned. I venture to make a suggestion in regard to her. Among the nuns mentioned by Aldhelm in the work last named as being under Hidelitha, one is called Hidburga. I think it probable, for more than one reason, that she was the Heaburg mentioned in a letter addressed to Boniface.⁴ This letter was written by a certain Eangyth, who styles herself *indigna ancilla ancillarum Dei et nomine abbatissae sine merito juncta*, and her only daughter Heaburg, styled Bugga (*cognomento Buggae*).⁵ This latter uncommon name suggests that she was the same Bugga who was the sister of Aldhelm and daughter of Kentwine, King of Wessex, who built the famous basilica upon which Aldhelm wrote a poem. In that case Eangyth was the widow of King Kentwine. This conclusion falls in very well with the contents of the letter above named written to Boniface, and with the fact that both Boniface and Aldhelm were on such terms of close friendship with Abbess Hidelitha. If the conclusion be right, it enables us to say that the Abbess Hidelitha was dead when the letter was written, i.e. circ. 719–722.

Let us now turn to the letter. The use in it of Bugga as a surname is illustrated by another phrase in which Eangyth speaks of a certain Wale (which looks like a similar pet name) as formerly her abbess and spiritual mother. This may have been a pet name of Hidelitha. She goes on to speak of the poverty and scanty supply of worldly things in her rural home (*paupertas et penuria verum temporalium et augustia cespitis ruris nostri*) and of the

¹ Aldhelm, *op. cit.*; Giles, 1–82.

² *Ib.* 135.

³ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Ep. iii. 252.

⁴ *Ib.* 260.

⁵ *Ib.* 261.

hostility of the King (*infestatio regalis*), caused by the accusations of those who were envious of her, added to which was the loss of a crowd of friends and relatives. "We have neither son nor brother, father nor uncle," she says, "and only one daughter, entirely bereft of all dear to her in this world except an only sister, a very aged mother, and a son of their brother, and he, without any fault of his own, is afflicted with mental weakness (*inflicem propter ipsius mentis*), and meanwhile the King hates our family exceedingly."

This letter, while a querulous document, is a very interesting one, and discloses the manifold troubles of an abbess (who was probably not very tactful and worldly-wise) in her efforts to manage her establishment. It was a double monastery (*promiscui sexus et aetatis*), and she had the duty of keeping the peace among a crowd of people differing in temperament and in mental equipment and varying in age and sex, and was held responsible not only for their overt words and actions but for their secret thoughts.

"God has removed from me," she says, "in various ways those who might have been useful to me. Some are dead and buried at home—God knows how many—others have forsaken their native land and sought shelter at the shrine of the Apostles Peter and Paul. I myself," she adds, "was also anxious to go thither across the sea, and asked for counsel from my spiritual brother Boniface, especially as I was getting old, and many dissuaded me from going, on the ground that I ought to stay and do my duty where I had been put by Providence."

The letter closes with a request to Boniface to show kindness to Denewald (whom she designates as *illum fratrem necessarium, amicum nostrum*, whether a real or only a spiritual brother I don't know) if he should come into the parts where he lived; she also sends a friendly message to the priest Berther.¹

The letter also affords good evidence of the mastery of Latin possessed by English nuns at this time. One sentence will suffice as a sample. Speaking of the relatives who had gone away and left her so lonely, she says: "*Alii obierunt in patrio solo; et corpora eorum in terrae pulvere squalente requiescant, iterum resurrectura in die necessitatis, quando herilis tuba concrepat et omne humanum genus atris tumbis emerget, rationem redditura, et spiritus eorum angelicis ulnis erecti regnaturi cum Christo; ubi omnis dolor deficit et invidia fatescit et fugiet dolor et gemitus a facie sanctorum,*" etc. etc.

¹ *Op. cit.* 261-263.

The quality of the Latin in the letter is coupled with a proof of considerable reading, as instanced by quotations from Jerome, Isidore, and Aldhelm.

We still have left for description a nunnery in Western England which was famous as a mother of missionaries and for other reasons. This was Wimborne (Winborna). It was founded by Cuthburga, the sister of King Ini, whom we have already named among the Barking sisters under Abbess Hildelitha. She had been the wife of Aldfrid, King of Northumbria, from whom she separated ("during his lifetime," *A.-S. Chron.*, 718), as other royal queens had done, under pressure of quite false ascetic notions. Florence of Worcester says she did so for the love of God (*pro amore Dei*).

She founded a nunnery at Wimborne near the river of the same name (called Wenturnia by Aldhelm) before the year 705, as it is mentioned in a document dated in that year by Aldhelm. He tells us it was then presided over by Cuthburga, whom he calls *Regis nostri germana Cuthburga*, thus making her the sister of King Ida, as she is also made by the compiler of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and by Florence of Worcester, *sub an. 718*. These authorities tell us she was the sister of Cuenburga or Quen-burga, who is called the co-foundress of Wimborne by John of Tynemouth in his *Historia Aurea*. According to the Life of St. Leobgytha or Leoba there were 500 nuns at Wimborne. We are not told the year when Cuthburga died, but her death-day was observed on August 31st. Her biography is entered in the *Acta Sanctorum* in August (vol. vi. 696).

She was apparently succeeded as Abbess of Wimborne by her sister Cuenburga. She is probably the same who is mentioned in an interesting document preserved among the Epistles of St. Boniface (which was written sometime in 729–744),¹ in which she is called Cneuburga. This document is the first recorded instance, say Haddan and Stubbs, of an association of confraternity between distant houses for mutual prayer, of which some important examples occur in later times. It is a kind of missive or letter addressed by Abbot Aldhun, Cneuburga a nun (*Christi famulae*), doubtless Cuenburga, and Coenburg the Abbess (? a corruption of Cuthburga), to the Abbots Coengils and Ingeld,²

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Ep. iii. 309.

² The third abbot of Glastonbury so named, who, in Malmesbury's list is put in 729–743 (*Ant. Glas.*, ed. Gale, 313 and 328).

and the priest Wiehtberht¹ their relative (*cognatus*). Abbot Ingeld's monastery is not mentioned, but he is named in a letter addressed by Wiehtberht to the monks of Glastonbury, and may be the Ingeld named as the brother of King Ini, and his sisters Cuthburga and Cuenburga. In the letter Aldhun and the nuns acknowledge the receipt of certain presents from their correspondents ; Cneuberga then proceeds to communicate the names of her dead sisters to the two abbots and Wiehtberht, apparently with the intention of securing their prayers. The first of them, she says, was her sister Queongyth (*soror mea germana*), and the second Edlu, who, when alive, was mother of Etan, a relative (*propinquus*) of Aldhun, once Wiehtberht's abbot. Both of them were commemorated on the same day, namely, the ides of September : the nuns also asked for the prayers of their correspondents for themselves. Haddan and Stubbs (iii. 343) suggest that Etan or Eto was the same person as Tetta,² which seems almost certain. Mabillon makes Aldhun abbot of Wimborne, of which there is no proof. An abbot of the name presided over St. Augustine's, Canterbury, from 748–760.³ Cuthburga and Cuenburga were both buried at Wimborne. A third sister named Tetta, above named, was also Abbess there, and presided over the sisters while St. Leoba was in residence there.

We learn from the interesting Life of the latter Saint that the convent was not a very happy family. In it Tetta is called the sister of the King (*i.e.* of King Ini). Montalembert has picturesquely translated some phrases from this Life. He says : "Among the crowd of minor authorities who lent their aid to this zealous and pious abbess was the provost (*preposita*), the deaconess (*decana*) ; the porteress whose business it was to close the church after compline, and to ring the bell for matins, and who was furnished with an immense collection of keys, some of silver, others of copper or iron."⁴ "But neither the rank nor moral influence of the princess Abbess was always successful in restraining the barbarous impetuosity of the monastic youth. Thus at one time the nun who held the first rank after the Abbess, and who was principally occupied with the care of the novices, made herself odious by her extreme severity. When she died, the hate which she inspired burst forth without pity ; she was no sooner buried than the novices and young nuns began to jump and dance upon her tomb, as if to tread under foot

¹ He was afterwards one of Boniface's missionaries to the Hessians and Saxons (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Ep. iii. 289, and note 1). He became Abbot of Fritzlar.

² *Vide* below. ³ See Elmham, 317 and 318. ⁴ *Vit. S. Leob.*, c. v.

her detested corpse. This went so far that the soil, freshly filled in, which covered the remains of their enemy, sank half a foot below the level of the surrounding ground. The Abbess had great trouble to make them feel what she called the hardness and cruelty of their hearts, and imposed on them three days of fasting, and prayers for the deceased.”¹

Leoba was the pet name of the nun whose life I have been quoting from. Her full name was Leobgytha and she was apparently also called Trythgifu.² While still at Wimborne she wrote a letter to Boniface. This was addressed to the Very Reverend Lord and Bishop Boniface, beloved in Christ, by his kinswoman Leobgytha, the humblest of the servants of God, health and eternal salvation. “I pray your clemency to remember the friendship which united you to my father Dynne, a native of Wessex, who died eight years ago, that you may pray for the repose of his soul. I also commend to you my mother Ebba, your kinswoman (as you know better than me), who still lives in great suffering and has long been overwhelmed with her infirmities. I am their only daughter; and God grant, unworthy as I am, that I may have the honour of having you for my brother, for no man of our kindred inspires me with the same confidence as you do. I have sent you a little present, not that I think it worthy your attention, but that you may remember my humbleness and that, notwithstanding the distance apart of our dwellings, the tie of true love may unite us for the rest of our days. Excellent brother, what I ask you with earnestness is, that the buckler of your prayers may defend me from the poisoned arrows of the enemy. I beg you also to excuse the rusticity of this letter, and that your courtesy will not refuse the few words of answer which I so much desire. You will find below some lines which I have attempted to compose according to the rules of poetic art, not from self-confidence, but to exercise the mind which God has given me, and to ask your counsel. I have learnt all that I know from Eadburga my mistress (*i.e.* the mistress of the novices), who gives herself to the study of the divine law. Farewell. May you live a long and happy life, and intercede for me.”

The verses referred to in this letter I have quoted on page 230.

After her mother’s death Leobgytha joined Boniface in Germany, who appointed her Abbess of Biscopsheim.

¹ *Vit. S. Leob.*, ch. iii.; Montalembert, *op. cit.* v. 295.

² See *Journ. Yorks. Archaeol. and Topog. Soc.*, iii. 368.

APPENDIX II

ARCHBISHOP THEODORE'S *PENITENTIAL*

I HAVE described this document and its contents at some length in the Introduction, and in an earlier chapter, and shown how valuable and important it is, not only for English ecclesiastical history but for that of Western Christendom, being, with one exception, referred to in it as the *Libellus Scotorum*,¹ the earliest example of a *Penitential* extant. I have thought it would be useful and welcome to other students to give it at length for the first time in translation, excluding only those parts of it which deal with unclean topics.

I may say that the text of the document is in several places very ambiguous and doubtful: I have taken it from Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 177-211. I have to thank my friends Mr. Mattingley and Mr. Hardinge-Tyler for help in clearing up some doubtful passages, but others remain in which the sense is by no means clear to me.

THE FIRST Book

The first chapter of the first book is headed “*De crapula et ebrietate.*”

1. If a bishop or other ordained person is habitually drunk he must give the practice up or be deposed.
2. If a monk is so drunk that he is sick (*vomitum facit*), let him do penance for thirty days.
3. In the case of a priest or deacon this penalty is extended to forty days.
4. If, however, he has been a very abstemious man, or is delicate, or has been without food for some time, and has thus accidentally succumbed from either drinking or eating too much; or if through joy at Christ's birth, or at Easter, or at the commemoration of some saint he should give way, notwithstanding-

¹ See Introduction, p. cxvii.

ing that he had not drunk more than was permitted him by the seniors, no offence is committed. If it was by command of the Bishop that he drank, then, again, it is no offence, unless the Bishop has also done it (*nisi ipse similiter faciat*).

5. If a faithful layman is sick from drink he is to do fifteen days' penance.

6. Any one, however, who becomes drunk "against the Lord's command" (if he is under a vow of sanctity) is to be limited to bread and water for seven days and to be seventy days without butter or fat. Laymen are similarly to abstain from beer as a penance.

7. If a man through wickedness causes another to become drunk he is to do penance for forty days.

8. He who becomes sick through intemperance is to do three days' penance.

9. If he do this at Communion he is to do seven days' penance; if it is due to infirmity, however, there is no offence.

The second chapter of the first book is headed "*De fornicatione*."

It contains twenty-two clauses, all of which deal with the relations of the sexes or unnatural crimes, to each of which special forms and degrees of penance are assigned. The minuteness of the classification and the details are incredibly offensive in a document professedly compiled from the decisions of an archbishop.

Bishop Stubbs, in dealing with the matter, offers some apologies which explain if they do not justify it. He says of the *Penitential* that "Like all works of a disciplinary character, it contains much that is repulsive and redolent of heathen and other abominations, against which early Christian teaching had to contend. Painful and disgusting as it is, it shows the Church attempting to struggle against the moral and social evils which the Roman satirists and epigrammatists regarded either as matters of jest or matters of course, and it was certainly never meant for common reading."¹

The third chapter is headed "*De avaritia*."

1. If a layman carries off a monk from a monastery by stealth, he must either himself enter a monastery to serve God, or subject himself to human servitude.

¹ *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iv. 932.

2. Money if stolen from a church is to be returned fourfold ; if from laymen, twofold.

3. He who has often committed theft is to suffer a penance of seven years, or such time as shall be deemed right by the ecclesiastic (*sacerdos*) who tries him—that is to say, what is deemed a punishment equivalent to the offence. A thief who is truly penitent ought always to make due restitution, and thereupon he should have the length of his penance reduced. If he is unwilling or incapable of doing this, the full length of the penance is to be exacted.

4. He who informs against the thief is to give one-third to the poor ; and he who hoards up his superfluity is also to give a third to the poor on account of his ignorance.

5. A thief who steals consecrated things is to do three years' penance, with the plainest food (without fat), and afterwards to communicate.

The fourth chapter is headed "*De occisione hominum.*"

1. If any one in revenge for a relative kills a man, he is to do penance, as in the case of homicide, for seven or ten years. If, however, he is willing to pay the relatives the recognised blood-penalty the penance is to be reduced by one-half.

2. He who kills a man to revenge a brother is to do three years' penance. In other cases it is to be ten years (*In alio loco x. annos dicitur penitere*).

3. In the case of homicide it is to be ten or eleven years.

4. If a layman kills another after brooding over it (*odii meditatione*), if he does not wish to give up his arms (*i.e.* to lose his social rank), he must do penance for seven years, and for three of them to be without flesh or wine.

5. If any one kills a monk, he must "give up his arms" and "serve God," or suffer seven years' penance. The Bishop is to be the judge ; in case the victim is a bishop or a priest, the King is to be the judge.

6. If a man kills another by order of his lord, he is to abstain from church for forty days, and if he kills one in public war (*publico bello*), he is to do forty days' penance.

7. If through anger, three years ; if by accident, one year ; if when drunk or by a stratagem, four years or more ; if in a brawl, ten years.

The fifth chapter is headed "*De his qui per heresim decipiuntur.*"

1. If any one is ordained by a heretic, he ought, if it was done in ignorance, to be reordained; if knowingly, he must be deposed.

2. If any one abandons the Catholic Church and becomes a heretic, and afterwards returns, he cannot be reordained until after a long interval (*post longam abstinentiam*) or for some great necessity. Pope Innocent did not allow a clerk (*clericus*) to reinstate himself by penance as the canon provided (*canonum auctoritate*). Therefore it is that Theodore adds "unless great necessity should arise," for he declared that he would never change the decrees of the Roman See (*nunquam Romanorum decreta mutari*).

3. If any one does not accept the Nicene Council, and celebrates Easter with the Jews on the fourteenth day, he is to be entirely excluded from the Church unless he repents before his death.

4. If any one joins in prayer with such a one, as if he were a Catholic cleric, he must do penance for seven days; if he neglects this, he must, on the first breach, do penance for forty days.

5. If any one encourages heresy and does not want to do penance for it, he is to be excluded from the Church; as the Lord says, "He who is not for Me is against Me."

6. If any one is baptized by a heretic who does not rightly hold the doctrine of the Trinity, he is to be again baptized.

7. If any one gives the Communion to or receives it from a heretic, in ignorance that this is forbidden by the Catholic Church, and afterwards learns of it, he is to do penance for a year. If he know, but neglects the rule, and afterwards wishes to do penance, let him do it for ten years. "Others," says the reporter, "say seven years; and those, again, who are more lenient, say five."

8. If any one permits a heretic to say Mass in a Catholic church, in ignorance, he is to do forty days' penance; if it is done out of regard for the heretic, then for a whole year.

9. If he has done it to do harm to the Catholic Church and to the custom of the Romans (*et consuetudine Romanorum*), he should be cast out like a heretic unless he is willing to do penance, when he must practise for ten years.

10. If any one leaves the Catholic Church and joins an heretical congregation, and persuades others to do so, and afterwards desires to do penance, let him do it for twelve years, four

years outside the Church and six among the congregation (*audatores*), and then two more years without Communion. In connection with this, it is said by the Synod, "in the tenth year let them receive their Communion or oblation."

11. If a bishop or an abbot orders a monk to chant a Mass for dead heretics, it is neither right nor expedient to obey.

12. If a priest be present at a Mass for the dead where the names of heretics and catholics are recited together, he is after the Mass to do penance for a week : if he has done it frequently, he is to do a year's penance.

13. If some one, however, order a Mass for the death of a heretic and preserves relics of him on account of his goodness (*pro religione*) ; although he failed much, if it was in ignorance of the deference due to the Catholic Church, and if he afterwards confessed it and desired to do penance, the relics should be burnt and penance should be done by the offender for a year. If he knew and yet disregarded the rule in such a case, yet was afterwards moved by penitence, he is to do penance for ten years.

14. If any one abandon the Faith without any necessity, and afterwards does penance with his whole heart in public (*inter audientes*), in accordance with the rule laid down by the Nicene Council, he shall do penance—three years outside the Church, seven in the Church, and ten more without Communion.

The sixth chapter is headed "*De perjurio.*"

1. He who commits perjury in a church is to suffer a year's penance.

2. If he do it under durance, then for three Lents.

3. To swear "in the hand of a layman" is not treated among the Greeks as of any consequence.

4. If, however, one swear in the hands of a bishop, priest, or deacon, or on an altar or a consecrated cross, and then breaks his oath, he is to suffer three years' penance ; if on a non-consecrated cross, only one.

5. Those who commit perjury are to suffer three years' penance.

The seventh chapter is headed "*De multis vel diversis malis et quae non nocent necessaria.*"

1. Any one who has committed certain crimes, such as homicide, adultery, unnatural offences with cattle, or theft, must enter a monastery, and do penance till his death.

2. In regard to money captured in a foreign province from a defeated enemy, as from a king who has been beaten, one-third of it is to be given to the Church or the poor, while the captor is to suffer forty days' penance, since it was done by order of the king (*quia jussio regis erat*). (I do not quite understand this clause.)

3. This clause I prefer not to print.

4. Evil thoughts which do not culminate in actions are not subject to punishment.

5. Theodore approved of twelve three-day fasts (*triduana pro anno pensanda*) annually. From sick people, from a male or a female servant for a year, or in default the payment of half of all he owns, as Christ laid down, and if he committed a fraud he should restore fourfold.¹ "These regulations," adds the reporter, "are taken, as we said in the Preface, from the small book of the Scots (*de libello Scotorum*), in which and in the rest (*in ceteris*) the penalty is sometimes heavier and sometimes lighter."

6. He who eats unclean food or the flesh of a dead animal which has been torn by wild beasts is to suffer forty days' penance, unless compelled by famine, when it is allowable, since it is done under compulsion.

7. If any one by chance touch food with his hand which a dog or the skin of a mouse, or any unclean animal which eats blood has touched, it is not an offence, nor is it wrong to eat an animal, either bird or beast (which seems unclean), from necessity.

8. If a mouse falls into a liquid it is to be taken thence and the liquid asperged with holy water. If the mouse is still alive, the liquor may be drunk; if, however, it is dead, all the liquor is to be thrown out and not given to any one, while the vessel is to be washed.

9. If, however, the liquid into which a mouse or a weasel (*mustela*) falls and dies, is in considerable quantity, it may be purged and asperged with holy water and afterwards consumed if necessity arises.

10. If birds drop excrement into water, the excrement is to be removed, the liquid sanctified, when the food shall be deemed clean.

11. It is not wrong to absorb blood unknowingly with saliva.

12. If any one is unwittingly polluted by eating blood or anything else unclean, he does no wrong; if knowingly, he must do penance as in the case of pollution.

¹ This clause is most obscure in the original.

Chapter viii. is headed "*De diverso lapsu servorum Dei.*"

Of the clauses in this chapter eleven deal with unclean and carnal matters and their punishments. These we will pass by.

12. In reference to those who having been laymen have become monks and have again resumed their secular habit, if willing to suffer penance, they are to be punished with ten years' penance ; after three years, if duly penitent with tears and prayers, the rest of the punishment may be lightened with the approval of the Bishop.

13. If a man is not a monk when he leaves the service of the Church, he should do penance for seven years.

14. Basil decided that a boy under sixteen might marry if he could not abstain. In case he had been a monk, he was, however, to be treated as a bigamist and do penance for one year.

Chapter ix. is headed "*De his qui degraduntur vel ordinari non possunt.*"

1. A bishop, priest, or deacon committing fornication is to be degraded and to be adjudged penance as prescribed by the Bishop ; nevertheless he may communicate. "While the man thus loses his worldly position his soul is made to live by the penance."

2. If any one having devoted himself to God adopt a lay habit, he must not again be raised to any other rank (*gradum*).

3. Nor, if a woman, ought she to adopt the veil. It is much better she should not have authority in the Church.

4. If any priest or deacon marry a strange woman he is to be publicly degraded.

5. If he commit adultery and appear publicly with her, he shall be excluded from the Church and suffer penance among the laity as long as he lives.

6. If he has a concubine he ought not to be ordained.

7. If a priest, in his own diocese or in another, or anywhere else where he may be, professes to be infirm and is unwilling to go and baptize any one because of the length of the journey, and the person dies without baptism, he is to be deposed.

8. Similarly, he who kills a man or commits fornication is to be deposed.

9. No young man living in a monastery is to be ordained before he is twenty-five.

10. If any one marries a widow, either before she has been baptized or after, he is not to be ordained, but is to be treated as if he were a bigamist.

11. If any one who is not ordained baptize some one through temerity, he is to be ejected from the Church and never ordained.

12. If any one be ordained by chance before he is baptized, those whom he has baptized must be baptized again, and he must not baptize any more.¹

"This again," says the reporter, "was differently decided by the Roman See, which declared that it is not the unbaptized man who baptizes in such a case, but the Spirit of God which confers the grace of baptism. The matter, however, was adjudged differently in the case of a pagan priest who was believed to have been baptized, since his works showed he had the Catholic faith. Others held that in such a case a man might baptize and ordain.

Chapter x. is headed "*De Baptizatis bis, qualiter peniteant.*"

1. Those who in ignorance have been baptized twice should not in consequence suffer penance, although according to the canons they might not ordain unless when compelled by necessity.

2. If any one, however, being aware that he had been previously baptized, should wilfully be rebaptized (thus, as it were, crucifying Christ twice), he must suffer penance for seven years on the fourth and sixth days of the week, i.e. on Wednesdays and Fridays, and also during three Lents. If he did this for some worldly reason (*pro mundantia*), for three years.

Chapter xi. is headed "*De his qui damnant Dominicam et indicta jejunia aecclisia Dei.*"

1. In regard to those who work on the Lord's Day, the Greeks are wont on their first breach to argue with the offenders; on the second occasion they take something from them; on the third they deprive them of a third of their goods, or flog them, or exact a seven days' penance.

2. If any one should fast on the Lord's Day through negligence, he must fast during all the succeeding week. If he do it again, he must fast for twenty days; if more than twice, forty days.

¹ Because a man cannot be ordained twice.

3. If he fast thus, in order to show his contempt for the Lord's Day like the Jews, he is to be abhorred by all Catholic churches.

4. If, however, he contemns the practice of Christian fasting altogether, and, contrary to the decrees of the elders, breaks his fast in another season than Lent, he is to do penance for forty days; if in Lent itself, for a year. If he contemns the Lent fast altogether, he must do forty days' penance.

5. If he commits such breaches frequently, he is to be expelled from the Church, in accordance with the Lord's saying, "They who scandalise (*scandalizarent*) one of these little ones," etc.

Chapter xii. is headed "*De Communione Eucharistiae vel Sacrificio.*"

1. The Greeks, both clergy and laity, communicate every Sunday, as the canons require, and those who fail to do so for three Sundays are excommunicated.

2. The Romans can also communicate every Sunday if they wish, but when they do not do so they are not excommunicated.

3. Both Greeks and Romans abstain from women for three days before the offering of the bread (*ante panes propositionis*), as is bidden in the Scriptures.

4. Penitents, according to the canons, ought not to communicate before completing their penance. We, however, through compassion allow them to do so after a year or six months has elapsed after the beginning of their penance.

5. He who takes the sacrifice (*sacrificium*) as food is to do penance for seven days in the discretion of the Bishop. (In some copies the clause about the Bishop is omitted.)

6. Every sacrifice (*omne sacrificium*) which becomes dirty and soiled by age is to be burnt.

7. Confession to God alone, is permissible, if it be under necessity. (The limiting clause is absent from some copies.)

8. He who accidentally mislays the sacrifice, and it is in consequence devoured by beasts or birds, is to fast for three weeks; if from negligence, three Lents.

Chapter xiii.—"*De Reconciliatione.*"

1. The Romans reconcile men within "the apse" (*intra absidem*); not so the Greeks.

2. The reconciliation of penitents is to be made on Good Friday, and only by the Bishop and after the completion of the penance.

3. If, however, the Bishop find a difficulty in doing it, a priest may do it on the ground of necessity.

4. "In this Province" a public reconciliation is not required and public penance is not exacted.

Chapter xiv.—"*De Penitentia Nubentium specialiter.*"

1. In a first marriage the priest ought to say Mass and to bless both parties, after which they are to abstain from church for thirty days. They are then to do penance for forty days and abstain from public prayer, and afterwards to communicate with oblation.

2. Bigamists must do penance for one year, and on the Wednesday and Friday and during three Lents they must abstain from meat. They must not be separated, however, nor should a man in such a case dismiss his wife.

3. In the case of trigamists the man is to do similar penance for seven years on the fourth and sixth days, while for three Lents they are to abstain from meat, nor is it permissible for him to separate from his wife. "Basil so decided; the canon, however, prescribes a four years' penance."

4. If a man find that his wife has committed adultery and he is unwilling to separate from her, he is to do penance for two days weekly for two years, with fasting as long as the penance continues. In such a case he must abstain from matrimonial intercourse with her inasmuch as she has committed adultery.

5. If any man or woman have made a vow of virginity and marries, the two must not separate but must do penance for four years.

6. Stupid vows and those impossible to carry out (*vota stulta et importabilia*) must be cancelled.

7. It is not lawful for a woman to make a vow without the consent of her husband; but if she have vowed to leave him, she can do so on doing such penance as is prescribed by the priest.

8. He who separates from his wife and takes another must do seven years' penance with chastisement.

9. He who pollutes the wife of his relative must do penance for three years, with abstention from his own wife, twice a week during three Lents.

10. If he does so with a virgin he is to do penance for a year without meat or wine.

11. If she be a servant of God (*puellam Dei*), he must do penance for three years, whether she have a son or not by him.

12. If she be his slave, he must give her her freedom and do penance for six months.

13. If his wife go away with another man, and returns without having been polluted, she is to do one year's penance; otherwise, three years. He himself is to do a year's penance if he take another wife.

14. A woman committing adultery is to do seven years' penance, as it is provided in the canon.

15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, and 23 are too gross for translation.

16. A wife who takes her husband's blood as a remedy is to do penance for forty days, more or less.

20. Any one marrying on a Sunday must ask pardon from God and do penance for one, two, or three days.

24. Women who commit abortion before there is evidence of life in the child must do penance for a year, or three Lents, or forty days, according to the degree of her fault; if she do it after signs of life have appeared (*i.e.* forty days after conception), she is to be treated as a homicide with penance for three years and with fasting on the fourth and sixth days and during three Lents. This is according to the canon.

25. When a woman kills her son, if it amount to homicide, she must do fifteen years' penance, except on Sundays.

26. If a woman who kills her child is very poor, she is to do penance for seven years. The canon says when it amounts to homicide it is to be for ten years.

27. A woman who kills her child within forty days of conception is to do one year's penance; if after forty days, it must be treated as homicide.

28. If an infirm child or a pagan be entrusted to a priest and dies, the priest is to give him up.

29. If a child die from neglect of the parents, they must do one year's penance; and if a child of three years old dies without being baptized, the father and mother must do three years' penance.

30. He who kills his son before baptism is, according to the canon, to do penance for ten years; if after deliberation (*per consilium*) seven years.

Chapter xv. is headed "*De culture Idolorum.*"

1. Those who sacrifice to demons in a small way are to do a year's penance; if in a large way, ten years.

2. A woman who puts her daughter on the roof or in the oven to cure her of fever is to do seven years' penance. (These were apparently pagan remedies.)

3. He who burns grain (*grana*) when a man has died, for the health of the survivors and for his house, is to do five years' penance. (This also was a pagan practice.)

4. If a woman perform diabolical incantations or divinations, she is to do penance for one year, or three Lents, or forty days, according to the quality of the fault. About this it is said in the canon: "They who are guilty of augury, prophecies (*auspicia*), dreams, or divinations after the manner of the Gentiles, and have introduced men into her house to practise such acts, if they are clerics must be deposed, if laymen they are to do five years' penance."

5. In the case of one who eats the flesh of animals which have been sacrificed, and then confesses, the priest is to make inquiry what his age is and in what manner he was taught, or how it came about, and is to measure the punishment by the amount of the guilt. This is to be the case in all penances and confessions.

THE SECOND BOOK

Chapter i. is headed "*De Ecclesiae ministerio vel reaedificatione ejus.*"

1. It is lawful to remove a church to another site, and it is not necessary to reconsecrate it, but the priest ought to asperge the old site with water and to place a cross on the site of the altar.

2. Two Masses may be said at every altar on the same day, and any one who fails to communicate is not to approach the bread (*panem*) nor share in the kiss in the Mass. He also who has previously eaten (*manducat*) is not to share in the kiss.

3. Wood that has been used in a church is not to be used for any purpose other than that of another church or for burning, or by the brethren in a monastery, or to bake the loaves (*panes*, *i.e.* the hosts); but not for lay purposes.

4. In a church where the bodies of unbelievers are buried it is not allowable to hallow an altar; but if it seem suitable for consecration they are to be removed (*evulsa*), and re-erected after the timbers have been scraped or washed.

5. If, however, it had been previously consecrated, it is allowable to say Mass at it if religious men (*religiosi*) are buried there ; if, however, a pagan is buried there, it is better to cleanse it and remove his remains (*mundari et jactari foras*).

6. Steps ought not to be made before the altar.

7. Relics of the saints are to be venerated.

8. If possible, a taper should be burnt every night where the remains are (*ibi*) ; if, however, poverty prevents this, there is no harm done.

9. The incense of the Lord is to be burnt on the natal days of saints in reverence for the day, “for, like lilies, it gives an odour of sweetness” ; on such days they should also asperge the Church of God and cense the church, beginning with the altar.

10. A layman ought not to read a lection in church nor sing an Alleluia, but he may sing psalms and responses without Alleluia.

11. Men may asperge the houses in which they live with holy water whenever they wish. When water is consecrated, a prayer should be said.

The second chapter is headed “*De tribus Gradibus Ecclesiae principalibus.*”

1. It is allowable for a bishop to confirm in the open air (*in campo*) if necessary (*i.e.* probably when the church was too small).

2. And so a priest may say Mass out of doors if a deacon or the priest himself hold the chalice and oblation.

3. A bishop ought not to compel an abbot to attend a synod unless there is a reasonable cause.

4. A bishop may decide the lawsuits of the poor to the extent of fifty solidi, but over that sum it is the duty of the King.

5. A bishop or an abbot may keep a criminal as a slave if the latter have not the money for his own redemption.

6. A bishop may discharge a vow if he thinks well.

7. A priest may say Mass, bless the people on Good Friday, or sanctify a cross.

8. It is not compulsory to give tithes to a priest.

9. It is not allowable for a priest to disclose the sin (*peccatum*) of a bishop. This is because he is set over him.

10. The sacrifice is not to be received at the hands of a priest who cannot say the prayers or read the lections according to the rite.

11. When a priest, or other, sings the responses in the Mass

he is not to take off his cope, but is to put it on his shoulders at the reading of the Gospel.

12. If a priest fornicate and it is found out, those who have meanwhile been baptized by him must be rebaptized.

13. If an ordained priest discover that he has not himself been baptized, he should be baptized and ordained afresh; all those whom he has baptized should also be baptized again.

14. "Among the Greeks, deacons do not break the holy bread, nor do they repeat the Collect (*collectionem*) nor the *Dominus vobiscum*, nor the last of the Mass Collects" (known in later times as the "Post Common").

15. It is not permitted to a deacon to impose penance on a layman, but only to a bishop or priest.

16. Deacons may baptize or bless food or drink, but may not distribute the bread (*panem dare*). Similarly, monks and clerks may bless food.

The third chapter is headed "*De Ordinationibus diversorum.*"

1. At the ordaining of a bishop the Mass should be chanted by the ordaining bishop.

2. At the ordination of a priest or deacon the bishop ought to celebrate the Mass. This is also the fashion of the Greeks at the consecration of an abbot or abbess.

3. At the ordination of a monk, the abbot should say Mass and repeat three prayers over his head. For seven days the monk ought to veil his head with a cowl, and on the seventh day the abbot is to remove it, just as at baptism the priest removes the veil from the child. The abbot should do so to a monk because his consecration is his second baptism, which in the judgment of the Fathers removes all sins, as in baptism.

4. A priest may consecrate an abbess with a celebration of Mass.

5. At the consecration of an abbot, however, the bishop should say Mass and bless him with bowed head in the presence of two or three witnesses selected from his brethren, and give him the staff (*baculum*) and crooks (*pedules*).

6. Nuns and *basilicae* should always be consecrated with Mass.

7. The Greeks consecrate a widow and virgin in the same way, and elect either to the position of an abbess. The Romans, however, do not veil a widow as they do a virgin.

8. According to the Greeks, it is allowable for a priest to

consecrate a virgin with a sacred veil, to reconcile a penitent, and to make the exorcising oil and the chrism for the infirm, if necessary. Among the Romans these duties are reserved for bishops.

The fourth chapter is headed "*De Baptismate et Confirmatione.*"

1. In baptism sins are remitted (*demittuntur*). Not so when the child is the offspring of a doubtful connection with a woman, since in that case sons born before baptism would afterwards be deemed her true sons.

2. A woman who was married before she was baptized could not be deemed a real wife; therefore any sons she had before baptism could not be treated as real sons, nor were they to call each other brothers, nor to share in the inheritance.

3. If a Gentile (*i.e.* an unbaptized person) give alms and practises abstinence and other good works which we cannot enumerate, he does not lose the benefit of these at baptism. The good is not lost, but the bad will be washed away. This was approved by Pope Innocent, who took his precedent from what happened in the case of the catechumen Cornelius.

4. Gregory of Nazianzus said that the second baptism is one of tears.

5. Baptism is not perfect without confirmation by a bishop. "However, we do not despair of one in such a case."

6. Chrism was appointed by the Nicene Council.

7. It is not incorrect to use the same *pannus chrismatis* (*i.e.* the chrismal napkin) again upon another baptized person.

8. If it be necessary, one person may act as father, *i.e.* godfather, both at the baptism and confirmation of a person. This is not usual, however, and a different one is generally selected for each ceremony.

9. It is not allowable to act as godfather (*alium suscipere*) when a person has not been baptized or confirmed.

10. A man may, however, be godparent to a woman and a woman to a man.

11. It is not allowable for the baptized to eat with the catechumens nor to kiss them, still less to do so with Gentiles.

The fifth chapter is headed "*De Missa Defunctorum.*"

1. According to the Roman Church, it is customary to carry dead monks and other religious men to the church, and then to

touch their breasts with chrism, to celebrate Mass for them, to carry them to their graves, and when placed there to say a prayer for them and to cover them with earth or stone.

2. On the first, third, ninth, and thirtieth days Masses are to be said for dead monks, and also after twelve months if they so wished it (*si voluerint servatur*).

3. In the case of a dead monk a Mass is to be said on the day of his burial and the third day after, and afterwards as often as the abbot desires.

4. Masses are also to be said for dead monks every week, when it is the custom to recite their names.

5. Masses for dead laymen are to be said three times in the year, on the third, ninth, and thirtieth days, and this because the Lord rose from the dead on the third day, died at the ninth hour, and the Israelites lamented Moses for thirty days.

6. For a good layman Mass is to be said on the third day; for a penitent, on the thirtieth or the seventh after a fast, because his relatives ought to fast for seven days and make an offering at the altar, as was said by Jesus, son of Sirach, "And the children of Israel fasted for Saul," and afterwards as often as the priest shall desire. (This is an ambiguous clause.)

7. Some say it is not allowable to say Masses for infants under seven years old, but it is in fact permissible.

8. Dionysius, the Areopagite, says it is blaspheming God to say Masses for a bad man.

9. Augustine says they ought to be said for all Christians, for they may either console those who make them or profit those for whom they are offered.

10. It is not permissible to say Masses for a priest or a deacon who could not or would not accept the Communion.

The sixth chapter is headed "*De Abbatibus et Monachis et Monasterio.*"

1. An abbot may resign his office from humility and with the consent of a bishop. Nevertheless, the brethren must elect his successor from their own number if they have one among them who is fit; if not, a stranger.

2. A bishop ought not by force to retain an abbot in his position (*in loco suo*).

3. The brethren ought to elect their new abbot after the decease of the previous one; or in the latter's lifetime if he have taken his departure or commits sin.

4. An abbot must not ordain one of his relatives to his own post nor give the post to a stranger nor to another abbot without the consent of the brethren.

5. If an abbot sin, the bishop has no power to remove him, but he must send him to another abbey and another abbot.

6. It is not allowable for a bishop or an abbot to dispose of the property of the community to another abbey, although both may be in his jurisdiction. If he wish to exchange the land with another abbey, it should be done with the consent of both the communities.

7. If, again, he wish to move his monastery to another place, he can do so with the consent of the bishop and the brethren, at the same time leaving at the former site a priest to minister to the church.

8. It is not permissible for monks to have women in their monasteries, nor for nuns, similarly, to have men; nevertheless, says Theodore, "I do not wish to destroy what is the custom in this country."

(It would seem that this is directed against double monasteries, presided over in some cases by women and in others by men.)

9. A monk should not make a vow without the consent of the abbot, and if he do so it may be broken.

10. If an abbot have a monk worthy of the episcopate in his house, he ought to give him up if it be necessary.

11. A boy is not to be allowed to marry when he has already taken a monk's vow.

12. If a monk has been selected by the brethren for the rank of a priest, he ought not to give up his previous monk's life.

13. If presently, however, he be found to be proud, disobedient, or vicious, and to lead a worse life in the higher station, he may be deposed and reduced to his former position, or be restored in the lowest grade, unless he make amends.

14. It is allowable for a monastery to receive the infirm.

15. It is permissible in such a monastery to wash the feet of laymen, except on Maundy Thursday.

16. It is not allowable for monks to impose penances on laymen; this is strictly the duty of the clergy.

The seventh chapter is headed "*De Ritu Mulierum vel Ministerio in Ecclesia.*"

1. Women should not veil the altar with the corporal nor place the oblations in the chalice, nor are they to stand among the ordained in the church nor to sit among the clergy at feasts.

2. Women are not to prescribe penances. This, according to the canons, is the function of the clergy.

3. Women may, when wearing a black veil, receive the sacrifice as St. Basil decided.

4. According to the Greeks, women may make the oblations, but not so according to the Romans.

Chapter eight is headed "*De Moribus Grecorum et Romanorum.*"

1. On Sundays the Greeks and Romans alike sail and ride on horseback, but they do not make bread and do not ride in carriages, except to church, nor do they bathe.

2. The Greeks do not write in public on a Sunday, but when necessary write at home.

3. The Greeks and Romans give their clothes to their slaves and they work them without a Sunday's rest.

4. Greek monks do not have slaves; Romans have them.

5. The Romans take refreshment at nine o'clock on the day before Christmas Day, that is, the vigil of our Lord, after Mass has been said; the Greeks before doing so say Vespers and the Mass.

6. Both Greeks and Romans visit those stricken with the plague, as in the case of other diseases, in accordance with the Lord's command.

7. The Greeks do not give the flesh of dead animals to pigs, but allow their skins and furs to be used for shoes, and similarly with their wool and horns, but such things are not to be used for any sacred purpose.

8. The head may be washed on Sundays and also the feet (*lavatio pedum*); the last, however, is not customary with the Romans.

The ninth chapter is headed "*De Communione Scottorum et Brittonum qui in Pascha et tonsura catholici non sunt.*"

1. Those who are ordained by Scotch or British bishops, and who do not conform to the Catholic practice about Easter and the tonsure, are not deemed to be in communion with the Church, and should be confirmed by a fresh imposition of hands by a Catholic bishop.

2. Similarly, the churches which are consecrated by the same

bishops are to be asperged with exorcised water and reconfirmed with a Collect.

3. We have not the power, at their request, to give them chrism or the Eucharist until they confess that they wish to join with us in the unity of the Church. Any one among these people, as well as any one else who doubts the regularity of his own baptism, should be rebaptized.

The tenth chapter is headed "*De Vexatis a diabulo.*"

1. If a man be vexed by a devil and run about heedlessly, or kill himself, he ought to be prayed for, if he was previously a religious person.

2. If he have killed himself from desperation, or fear, or some unknown reason, we leave the decision to God and do not dare to pray for him.

3. In the case of one who wilfully kills himself no Masses should be said, but he may be prayed for and alms may be given for him.

4. In the case of a Christian who, seized by a sudden outbreak, loses his mind or becomes insane and kills himself, some are accustomed to say Masses for him.

5. In resisting a devil it is lawful to cast stones and herbs (*holera*) at him, but not to use incantations.

Chapter xi. is headed "On the Use or Nonuse of Animals."

1. Animals which have been lacerated by wolves or dogs are not to be eaten, nor is a stag or a goat which is found dead, unless it have been killed previously by a man.

2. Birds and other animals strangled in nets are not to be eaten by men, nor if found slain by hawks, for in the fourth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles we are told to abstain from fornication, from blood, from things strangled, and from idolatry.

3. Fish, however, may be eaten, for they are of a different nature.

4. Horse-flesh is not forbidden, but it is not the custom to eat it (*consuetudo non est comedere*).

5. It is lawful to eat a hare, and it is good for dysentery ; while its gall, mixed with pepper, is good for quelling pain.

6. If bees kill a man, they ought to be killed as soon as may be, but the honey may be eaten.

7. If by chance pigs eat the flesh of an animal found dead or the blood of a man, they are not to be thrown away, nor are hens, but they may be eaten.

8. It is not permitted to eat the flesh of animals which have fed on the bodies of the dead until twelve months have elapsed.

9. Animals which have been polluted by men must be put to death and their flesh given to the dogs, but their offspring may be used, and their skins also. When there is doubt about the matter they need not be killed.

Chapter xii. is headed "*De Questionibus Conjugiorum.*"

I shall leave out some of the headings in this chapter, which are not fit for publication.

6. A woman should not desert her husband, even if he be a fornicator, unless for the sake of entering a monastery. Basil decided this.

7. A legitimate marriage ought not to be dissolved except with the consent of both parties.

8. It is lawful, however, for one party to consent to the other entering the service of God in a monastery and then to marry again if it was the first marriage. "This is according to the Greeks." "Yet," says the reporter, "it is not canonical for one to marry again during the life of the other."

If a man become a slave in consequence of having committed theft or fornication, his wife, if it was her first marriage, may after a twelvemonth take another husband; but not if she have married twice.

9. If a man's wife die, he may take another after a month. A woman may take another husband, but only after a twelvemonth.

10. If a woman commit adultery and her husband will not live with her, she may, if she wishes, enter a monastery, and in such a case can claim a fourth part of her heritage; but if she does not wish to do this, she is entitled to nothing.

11. If a married woman commit adultery she is in the power of her husband, if he wishes to be reconciled to her. In such a case she cannot claim to be so (*in clero non proficit vindicta illius*), and she belongs to her proper husband.

12. If a man and woman are married and he wishes to serve God, but she does not, or she wishes and he does not, or if either of them is seriously ill, they may be entirely separated with the consent of both.

13. A woman who makes a vow that on the death of

her husband she will not take another, and if on his death breaking her vow she agrees to take another, and, if moved by penitence, she then wishes to keep her former vow, it is in the power of the man whether she shall be released or not.

14. Theodore in one case in which a woman had admitted such a vow, allowed her to marry a second time after eleven years.

15. If a layman makes a vow without the consent of the bishop, the latter may dissolve it.

16. A legitimate marriage may take place either by day or night, as it is written, "Thine is the day and Thine the night."

17. If a Gentile (*i.e.* an unbaptized person) put away his Gentile wife, he may after baptism choose whether he will continue to live with her or not.

18. Similarly, if one of them is baptized and the other is a Gentile; for the Apostle says, "If the unbeliever depart, let him go." If a man have a wife who is an unbeliever and a Gentile, and will not be converted, she should be sent away.

19. If a woman leave her husband because she despises him, and is unwilling to return to be reconciled to him, he may after five years take another wife with the consent of the bishop.

20. In the case of a married woman who has been captured by the enemy and cannot be redeemed, the husband may marry again.

21. If she have been made captive in this way her husband shall wait for her five years before he marries again, and the woman shall do the same if the like befall her husband.

22. If a man marry a second wife and the first one returns from captivity, he may leave the second and return to the first. It is the same with the wife and her husband.

23. If a man's wife is carried off by the enemy and he cannot get her back, he may take another. It is better to do this than to commit fornication.

24. If the woman returns afterwards, she ought not to be received by him if he have another wife, but let her take another husband. The same rule shall apply in regard to foreign slaves.

25. According to the Greeks, marriage is allowed between those in the third degree of affinity, as it is written in the law. According to the Romans, the prohibition extends to the fifth degree. Nevertheless, the latter do not dissolve marriages in the fourth degree after they have once been undertaken. Thus they are deemed to be regularly united in the fifth degree, while in the fourth they are not separated if the marriage has taken place.

26. After the death of her husband a woman may not accept another who is related to him in the third degree.

27. Similarly, a man cannot be joined to those who are blood relations and to the blood relations of his wife after her death.

28. Two brothers may marry two sisters, and father and son may marry mother and daughter.

33. The parents of an engaged woman cannot give her to another man unless she resists them altogether (*nisi illa omnino resistat*). She may, however, go to a monastery if she wishes.

34. If, being married, she refuse to live with the man to whom she is united, the money must be returned to him, with a third more; if he, however, decline her, he loses the marriage gift paid with her.

35. A girl of sixteen has power over her own body.

36. A boy up to fifteen years is in the power of his father. After that he can make himself a monk. A girl can make herself a nun at sixteen or seventeen. After this age the father cannot marry a girl against her consent.

Chapter xiii. is headed "*De Servis et Ancillis.*"

1. A father driven by necessity has the right to put his son in servitude at the age of seven; after that age it must be with the son's consent.

2. At fourteen a man may make himself a slave.

3. It is not permitted to a man to take from his slave, money which the latter has earned by his own labour.

4. If a man marry his male and female slave to one another and afterwards either of them becomes free, if the one in service cannot be redeemed, the other is free to marry a free person.

5. If a free man marries a female slave, he has not the right to divorce her without her consent.

6. If any one marry a pregnant woman who is free, the child born from her is free.

7. If a man give her freedom to a pregnant woman who is a slave, the child when born shall be in servitude.

Chapter xiv.—"*De diversis questionibus.*"

1. There are three obligatory fasts which people must observe: namely, forty days before Easter (when tithes for the year are paid), and forty days before Christmas, and after Whitsuntide respectively, both day and night.

2. He who fasts for a dead man helps himself only. God alone has knowledge of the dead.
3. Laymen ought not to delay performing their promises, for death does not tarry.
4. A servant of God ought under no circumstances to fight. Conciliation is the rôle of the servants of God.
5. An infant may be exchanged for another who has been vowed to God in a monastery, but it is better to fulfil the vow.
6. Cattle of equal value may be exchanged if necessary.
7. A king who possesses the land of another king may give it for his own soul.
8. What is found on a road may be kept, but if the real owner be discovered it must be given up to him.
9. The income (*tributum*) of the Church is to be distributed according to the custom of the province, but the poor are not to be deprived of their tithe or other things by force.
10. It is not lawful to give tithes except to the poor and to pilgrims (*peregrini*), save by laymen to their own churches.
11. Out of reverence for the new birth by the Holy Spirit, prayers are to be said at Whitsuntide in white garments, as also at Quinquagesima.
12. A prayer may be said under a veil when necessary.
13. It is lawful for the sick to take food and drink at all hours when they desire and are able to take it, if they cannot take it at the fitting time.

Besides these are certain canons not found in the official collection. According to Stubbs they were probably traceable to Theodore, and are found in two collections known as the *Capitula Theodori*, and the so-called *Capitula Gregorii*. They are as follows:

1. A free man ought to marry a free woman.
2. At one altar, according to the Greeks, two Masses may be said in one day. Among the Romans five may be said, on account of the five crosses placed on it by the bishop when he consecrates it. He who has previously eaten is not to be admitted to the kiss. (This is a repetition of the clause in the *Penitential*, ii. 1, 2, with the addition of the words about the Greeks.)
3. A man should abstain from his wife for forty days before Easter, in the first week after Easter, and for a week after Pentecost. (This is like the paragraph in the *Penitential*, ii. xii. 2, with the last clause added.)

4. Children in monasteries may eat meat until they are fourteen.

5. The remains of dead Gentiles (*i.e.* unbaptized people) should be ejected from holy places. (Cp. *Penitential*, II. i. 4.)

6. This clause extends to priors the provision in regard to abbots contained in the *Penitential*, II. vi. 4.

7. He who commits a homicide or a theft and has not compounded with those whom he has injured, ought to return what he has taken or compound for the crime when he confesses his sin to the bishop or priest. If he have no means, however, from which to compound, or does not know whom he has injured, the penance must be increased. (See *Penitential*, I. iii. 3 and I. iv. 1.)

8. No one should be buried in a consecrated church, and if it is found that there were dead people there before it is consecrated then it should not be consecrated. (See *Penitential*, II. i. 4, 5.)

9. If in consequence of such burials the church is moved to another site and the boards are washed (*tabulae laventur*), it should be hallowed afresh. When it shall have been moved to another place on the same site, it should be asperged with holy water. (This is in contradiction to the clause in the *Penitential*, ii. 1.)

10. If a slave refuse to marry a maid belonging to his lord, he should accept her resignation.

11. A man should not join in the common feast (*non ineat pacem communem*—*i.e.* communicate) with an adulterous woman, nor a woman with an adulterous man.

12. Those who eat the flesh of unclean animals or the vegetables (*olera*) which are cooked with it should leave the ministry.

13. A bishop, priest, or deacon ought to confess his sins.

14. Prayer must be offered standing, to do reverence to God.

15. If a priest arrive at a *pagan* farm it is better to baptize him there in the name of the Trinity with water that has been signed with the cross.

16. If any one casts out his father or mother he is to be deemed impious and sacrilegious, and is to do penance for the same length of time as his wicked action lasts.

17. He who commits self-abuse is to do one year's penance. If he commit rape or violence on a virgin or widow, three years'.

APPENDIX III

CÆDMON, THE MORNING STAR OF ENGLISH POETRY

AMONG the pupils and protégés of St. Hilda, the one whose fame has been the most lasting was the peasant boy Cædmon, who, like Burns, learnt how to tune his harp, if not while following the plough, in tending cattle in the byre attached to the monastery at Whitby,—“the herdsman poet,” as he has been fitly called. All we know about his personal history has been preserved by Bede, who was himself probably born three or four years before his death, and who, like him, was a Northumbrian. Bede’s notice of him is touched with romance—an easy product in a very credulous age when legends rapidly grew. He tells us that in Hilda’s monastery there was a certain brother noted for his piety, who used to make pious verses, and whenever some subject was interpreted to him out of Scripture, he put it into poetical form of much sweetness and feeling in the Anglian speech which was his native tongue (*in sua id est Anglorum lingua*). Some of the Anglians who came after him tried to compose religious poems, but none were his equals (*nullus eum aequiparare potuit*), for he learnt the art of verse not from men, nor was he taught it by a man, but by a Divine gift. “He would never,” says Bede, “compose a frivolous or foolish poem” (*frivoli et superuacui poematis*). Only religious themes were suited to his religious tongue (*religiosam ejus linguam*). He had lived until he was well advanced in years (*ad tempora prouectioris aetatis*), during which time he had followed a secular life, before he composed any verses. In his earlier days he shrank from such things, and when he was present at entertainments at which it was usual for all to be gay and for each to sing in turn, he used to rise from his place and return home when he noticed that the harp (*cithera*) was coming towards him. This points to its having been the custom for

men at that time to sing at feasts, it also shows that playing the harp was widely known.

Having on such an occasion left the table and gone to the cattle byre, which it was his duty to guard during the night, he lay down to rest at the wonted hour. When he was asleep "a certain one" (*quidam*) appeared to him, and, calling him by his name, said, "Cædmon, sing something to me" (*Caedmon canta mihi aliquid*). He replied: "I do not know how to sing, and that was the reason I left the feast and came hither." His guest, however, again pressed him. "What must I sing?" said Cædmon. "Sing about the beginning of created things" (*principium creaturarum*), was the reply of the apparition. He therefore began as it were spontaneously, to sing in praise of God the Creator, in verses such as he had never heard before, of which the sense was as follows: "We ought now to praise the author of the Divine kingdom and the power of the Creator and His wisdom (*consilium*) and the deeds of the Father of Glory (*facta patris gloriae*). How He being the Eternal God became the author of all miracles, who first made heaven as a protecting roof (*pro culmine tecti*) for the children of men, and then as the preserver of the human race created the earth." Bede claims this to be a paraphrase in Latin of Cædmon's exordium. He expressly says that his Latin translation of it preserves the sense but not the actual words (*sensus, non autem ordo ipse verborum*), as Cædmon sang them in his sleep, for, "as he very truly says" (and as we all know to our cost), "verses, however well composed, cannot be literally translated from one language to another without losing much of their beauty and dignity (*decoris ac dignitate*)."

To return to Cædmon. Having awoke he recalled what he had seen in his sleep, and added much more to the same effect in verse worthy of the Deity. In the morning he repaired to his superior, whom Bede styles the town reeve (*ad vilicum, qui sibi praerat*),—in the English translation it reads, "*To tham tungerefan se the his Ealdorman waes*,"—and informed him of his newly acquired gift. He conducted him to the Abbess Hilda, and she in turn made him repeat his verses before many learned men. On hearing them they all concluded that he had received the grace from the Lord. They further went on to explain to him some passage from holy writ, either historical or doctrinal, and bade him, if he could, to transpose it into verse. He thereupon went away, and next morning returned with it duly converted into excellent verse. Therefore the Abbess, recognising God's grace

in the man, counselled him to abandon his secular dress and to adopt the calling of a monk. Having done so, he joined the rest of the brethren in her monastery, and she ordered that he should be taught the whole series of sacred history. "Thus," says Bede, using one of his odd similes, "keeping all he learnt in his mind, and ruminating like an animal (*quasi mundum animal, ruminando*), he turned it into sweetest verse (*in carmen dulcissimum*) and repeated it harmoniously to the doctors his hearers."¹

Bede has little else to tell us about the life of Cædmon, and merely praises in a rhetorical sentence his goodness, zeal, and attention to regular discipline. He concludes his account of him, however, with a notice of his death, which has been very naturally praised for its simplicity and beauty. "When the time of his departure arrived," he says, "he suffered for fourteen days under a bodily infirmity, yet so moderate that he could walk and talk the whole time. Close by was the house into which those who were ill and likely to die were carried. There, on the night when he died, he bade his attendant prepare a place for him to rest in. The servant, who wondered at the request (for there were no signs that the end was so near), nevertheless did as he was bidden. He was accordingly placed there, and continued to speak in a joyful and joking mood with those about him. When midnight arrived he asked them if they had the Eucharist within (he doubtless meant whether it was reserved in the infirmary). They asked him what need he had of the Eucharist, since he talked to them so joyfully, as if he were in perfect health. He nevertheless pressed them to bring it to him.² When he had received it into his hand, he asked if they were all in charity with him and had no ill-will towards him. They all

¹ Bede, *H.E.*, iv. 24.

² The Rev. J. Stevenson, in reference to this passage of Bede, argues that at this time it was not the universal practice for the communicant to receive the sacrament directly from the hand of the priest, but that on sudden emergencies it might be transmitted by the hands of another, and he cites in support the Articles of Inquiry cited by Hincmar of Rheims, one of which is "Does the priest himself visit the sick and anoint them with the holy oil and himself give them the Holy Communion, or does he do this by another, and does he himself give the Communion to the people, or does he give the Communion to some lay person to carry to his house for the use of the sick" (see Labbe, *Conc.*, viii. 573). Stevenson also cites Ratherius, Bishop of Verona and Regino, in the same behalf. It is also plain from Bede's account that at this time the communicant was permitted to receive the consecrated bread into his hand, while in later times the custom arose of putting the consecrated wafer into his mouth.

replied they were so, and asked in return if he felt kindly to them all. ‘My brethren,’ he said, ‘I am in charity with you and all God’s servants’; and thus strengthening himself with the heavenly viaticum he prepared himself to enter into another life. He then asked how long it would be before the brethren would rise to say their nones (*nocturnae*), and when they said it was not far off, he replied that it was well and that he would wait till that hour. Then, signing himself with the sign of the cross, he laid his head on his pillow, and falling into a gentle slumber he ended his life in silence. Thus,” says Bede, “his tongue, which had uttered so many words in praise of the Creator, uttered its last words while he was signing himself with the cross and recommending his spirit into the hands of God.”¹

Cædmon is supposed to have died in the year 680. He was buried in the monastery at Whitby, and there, according to William of Malmesbury, his bones were discovered in the twelfth century with those of other saints. “*Inventa sunt noviter, id est ante initium seculi xii . . . sanctorum corpora Trumwini episcopi; Oswii regis et Aelfledae filiae ejus; . . . necnon et illius monachi quem divino muneri scientiam cantus accepisse Beda refert.*”²

Cædmon’s name appears in the Anglo-Roman calendar in some examples on the 10th and in others on the 11th February. There is no known authority for either date.

Let us now turn to the question of his personality and works, which have aroused a good deal of ingenious and much futile speculation in modern times.

One of the acutest and most informing historians of this period of our history, Sir Francis Palgrave, who was a Jew by origin and was inspired sometimes by the imaginative fancy of his race, altogether questioned the fact of Cædmon having been a possible name for an Englishman, and argued that it was in fact a kind of symbolical name. He says that “the name Cædmon has no meaning in the Anglian tongue, adding that the Jews name Genesis from its first word *b. Rashid* (in the beginning). This, Onkelos the Aramaic translator, translates by Cadmin, meaning the same thing, and when the Anglo-Saxon poet translated Genesis they called him Cædmon or Cadmon instead of Cadmin. Inasmuch as the Culdees, who were the masters of the monks of Streaneshealh, derived their ritual and their theology from Jerusalem and Egypt instead of Rome, this accounts for the whole thing.”

¹ *Bede*, iv. 24.

² *G.P.*, iii. 116.

It would be difficult to match this sample of perversity. That a country boy in Northumberland with a gift for poetry should have had among the simple monks at Whitby teachers who could point out to him not only the Jewish name for Genesis, but also the Aramaic one, and that Bede should have been misled into giving, by mistake, to a monk (who must have been more than usually well known) the name for Genesis, is really fantastic, and is completely answered by the fact pointed out by Wölker that Cædmon or Cadmon, instead of being an unknown Anglian name, was in fact a well-known one. As he says: "Da sich der Eigenname Cædmon (= *nauta, oder pirata*) erklären lässt fällt auch damit der unglaublice zweite Teil von Palgrave's aufstellung."

While Palgrave was alone in doubting the English name and personality of Cædmon, quite an army of critics has busied itself with the intricate questions surrounding his works, some having even suggested that he was little more than a name, and that the works attributed to him really belong to others. This conclusion has chiefly been the outcome of the perverse subjective methods of German criticism.

The first thing to remember in the discussion (a fact which was much overlooked by the earlier writers), is that in the beginning of the eighth century there were two distinct dialects, which might be almost called languages, spoken by the English: one, the tongue of the Northumbrians, and the other spoken by the people south of the Humber and the Lune.

Secondly, so far as we have evidence, there was no literary work composed in the vernacular of Southern England until much later times; such work in the earlier time was confined to Northumbria. On this point an excellent authority speaks plainly: "It is a remarkable fact," says Professor Horstman, "that Anglo-Saxon poetry is almost exclusively confined to the North of England, and to the ancient kingdom of Northumbria. . . . Here, in 674, Benedict Biscop founded the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, where Beda (d. 735) wrote; in the school of York, founded by Beda's friend Egbert, Alcuin taught; at Whitby under Abbess Hilda lived Cædmon the poet; and Cynewulf was a Northumbrian."¹ It is perfectly plain in fact that Cædmon, who was a Northumbrian of humble birth, must have spoken and written in the Northumbrian speech. Now it happens that although Northumbria was no doubt the part of England where almost alone in early Saxon

¹ *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, p. vi.

times the vernacular literature flourished, we have scarcely any remains of it extant in its original form and dialect. This is a real measure of the devastation which overwhelmed all culture there, when its monasteries and other religious establishments were destroyed by the Danes. We cannot expect therefore to find any considerable poem of Cædmon in the form in which he wrote it. We are not, however, without some samples. In the most important MS. of Bede (probably, says Hardy, written in his lifetime), which is known as Bishop Moore's MS., and is preserved in the public library at Cambridge, where it is numbered K.K. 16, fol. 128 v., there is an entry in the margin in a hand differing from, but nearly contemporary with, the one in which the bulk of the MS. was written, which is known as Cædmon's hymn, and is written in the Northumbrian dialect. The same exordium occurs in a West Saxon form in other MSS. of Bede and is also entered in the margin. It is quoted by Bede as representing the Divine hymn which was heard by Cædmon.

As Mr. Plummer says, the Northumbrian version is much older than the other, and being Northumbrian is more likely to represent what Cædmon actually sang than any other, and as it is extant in a MS. not much later than the death of Bede, this Northumbrian version must represent what was believed in his time to be a genuine work of Cædmon. There can be no doubt that if it was composed by Cædmon, the Northumbrian version must be the original form, and the West Saxon one must be a later translation. Its genuineness has been defended by Wanley, Bouterwek, Ettmüller, Stephens, Hammerich, Grein, Ten Brink, Zupitza, Wülker, and Sarrasin. Wülker says of it: "Ich . . . sehe in der Nordhumbrischen Fassung des Hymnus den Text, welcher in 8 Jahrhundert als derjenige galt welchen Cædmon am Beginne seiner Dichterlaufbahn dichtete."¹ Sarrasin, writing in 1913, says: "Die Sprache des Kädmonischen Hymnus dessen Echtheit jetzt wohl nicht mehr bestritten wird."²

It will be interesting to give the words of this hymn, inasmuch as they form the very first composition in any kind of English that is extant. The only suggestion that has been made on the other side is that the lines in question are a retranslation into Northumbrian English of the southern version of the hymn. Apart from its *a priori* improbability,

¹ "Grundriss zur Gesch. der Angelsächsischen Literatur," p. 120.

² *Von Käedmon bis Kynewulf*, 17.

this is ridiculous, since it occurs in a marginal note of an eighth-century MS. in a writing much earlier than the southern version. The hymn is as follows:—

NORTHUMBRIAN EDITION.

Nu scylun hergan
hebæn rices uard
metudæs mæcti
end his modgidane
uere uuldur fadur
sue he uundra gihuæs
eci drictin
or astelidæ
he ærist scop
ælda barnum
heben til hrofe
haleg scepen
tha middun geard
moncynnæs uard
eci dryctin
æfter tiadæ,
firum fol'du
frea allmectig.¹

WESSEX EDITION.

Nu we sculon herian
heofonrices we[ard]
metoddes mihte
and hi[s] modgepane
weore wu[!]dor fæder
swa he wu[n]dra gehwile
ece drih[ten]
word astealde
he ærest gescop
ylda [bear]num
heofen to rofe
[halig] scippend
middan ear[de]
mann cynnes weard
ece drihten
aefter tid[a]
fyrum on foldum
frea ealmihti.¹

We will now give the verse in translation:—

Now must we praise
the Guardian of Heaven's kingdom,
the Creator's might,
and his mind's thought.
Glorious Father of men,
as of every wonder. He,
Lord Eternal,
formed the beginning.
He first framed
for the children of earth
the heaven as a roof;
Holy Creator
then mid earth.
The Guardian of mankind,
the eternal Lord,
afterwards produced
the earth for men,
Lord Almighty.²

This hymn is not the only fragment of Northumbrian poetry which has been attributed to Cædmon's own pen. Among the

¹ Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 251, 252.

² Thorpe's *Cædmon*, xxii. and xxiii., and Bede's paraphrase as given above.

finest monuments dating from Anglo-Saxon times is the Ruthwell cross, which will occupy us again presently. It is now preserved in the church at Ruthwell, near Annan, in Dumfriesshire. As we shall see, it almost certainly dates from the beginning of the seventh century. On this great cross there are sculptured a number of fragments of a poem written in runic characters. This cross and the inscription on it have given rise to many polemics. I will abstract the story, which is interesting and instructive, from Professor Stephens's great work on runic inscriptions.

The first person to publish an engraving of the stone was Hickes, in his *Thesaurus*, in which he figured the four sides; this was in 1703. He made no comment on it. In 1722 Gordon published figures of the two sides containing runic inscriptions. In the beginning of the next century Dr. Duncan, who re-erected the cross, also copied the four sides for the use of the Icelandic scholar Repp, who wrote a treatise on it and was the first to attempt a translation of it. The cross was again published in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii. plates 54 and 55. G. J. Thorkelin, the Icelandic antiquary, visited England in 1786, and obtained a copy of the plates in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, which he presented to his countryman, Fin Magnussen, who wrote the first professedly scientific memoir upon the stone, entitled *Om obelisken i Ruthwell*. This was in 1837.

The memoirs of Repp and Magnussen were excellent examples of the futility of attempting an interpretation of English runic inscriptions by men who do not know our Early English tongue, however well they know German or Scandinavian. Of their version, says Stephens, the less said the better. Their ingenious authors were entirely out of the track. Both invented a new language in which the words were said or *made* to be written, some kind of bastard Pictish. Repp asserted that the monument recorded the gift of a font (which, according to him, the runes call a Christ-bason) and of certain cows and lands in Ashlafardhal (a place which never existed) by the monks of Therfuse (a monastery never heard of). Magnussen "makes it to be the record of Ashlof's marriage settlements, adding all sorts of wild and absurd statements, the whole amid a cloud of misplaced erudition. The fact was, that neither of these gentlemen knew Old English, the language of the pillar which they were studying."¹

¹ Stephens, i. 409, 410.

The first person to attack the inscriptions successfully was Kemble, our own great Saxon scholar, to whom the obligations of English scholarship have never been sufficiently acknowledged. In his famous paper on the runcs of the Anglo-Saxons, published in 1840, he, *inter alia*, translated the runic writing on the Ruthwell cross, which he showed was a Christian memorial and that the letters formed twenty lines, more or less complete, of a poem on the Holy Rood, *i.e.* the Cross of Christ, in old North English (commonly called Old Northumbrian). It is pleasant to think that Fin Magnussen was the first to announce that Kemble was right and that he himself had been wrong. Kemble did not assign the lines to any particular poet, nor had he a complete copy of the runes before him.

The next step that was taken in clearing the story was when in 1856 the late Rev. Daniel Haigh, in a paper printed in the *Archaeologia Aeliana* (Nov. 1856, pp. 149–195) on the Saxon cross at Bewcastle, made the happy conjecture that the Ruthwell cross was erected about the year 665 and contained fragments of a religious poem of very high character, and that there was only one man living in England at the time worthy to be named as a religious poet, and that was Cædmon.¹

In 1861 the same writer wrote his *Conquest of Britain*. In this he says of the poem we are discussing: “It was probably one of those which Cædmon, who was living at the time when these monuments (*i.e.* the Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses) were erected, composed,” adding: “That they belong to the seventh century cannot be doubted; they contain forms of the language which are evidently earlier even than those which occur in the contemporary version of Bæda’s verses in a MS. at St. Gallen, and the copy of Cadmon’s first song at the end of the *Hist. Eccl.*, which was completed two years after its author’s death.”²

Stephens says of this suggestion of Haigh’s: “This splendid and daring assumption in implication has now been proved by the stone itself.” And may I add, proved by the equally potent skill of Professor Stephens himself.

He was the first who gave a really correct copy of the entire inscriptions from careful rubbings and tracings that he had received from Mr. Maughan and Father Haigh. He was thus able to give for the first time what was most important, namely, a correct reading of the inscription on the top stone of the cross—

¹ *Op. cit.* 173.

² *Op. cit.* 39.

a very critical part of the monument, and which had been strangely overlooked. It then became clear that the figure of a man which occupied one side of it was that of St. John, with an inscription in Latin letters plainly reading "In princ . . . verbum . . .," which is a fragment of the opening passage of St. John's Gospel. On the other was the eagle of the same Evangelist, with the words, "Cadmon maefauœþo," being, says Stephens, "a bind-rune." "In regard to this reading," he says, "there is no doubt, and all are agreed."¹ The word, says Stephens, is a form of *faked, fadged, fawed, fayed*, meaning composed, made.² Elsewhere he says that it is a form of the verb which King Alfred uses in the sense of composing a song, namely, *ged gefegean*.³ Stephens's reading has been adopted as unquestionable by a second English scholar highly skilled in reading our runes, namely, Bishop Browne.

From the concurrence of evidences here adduced, Stephens concluded, and I think unanswerably, that the poem on the stone was in fact composed by Cædmon, the protégé of St. Hilda. This conclusion is a perfectly simple and complete explanation of the facts, but it would not satisfy those who cannot tolerate simple explanations but are always in search of intricate ones, and who are always finding what they search for, namely, *mare's nests*. It could not be disputed that the name on the cross was Cædmon, as attested by two of the most competent authorities on our English runes, and that it was associated on the cross with just such a poem as our Cædmon would have written, and was composed in the language he spoke and at the time he lived. All this went for nothing with these transcendental spinners of cobwebs. They would have it that the name (an uncommon one) was that of the carver of the stone and not the author of the poem, a conclusion as arbitrary as anything could be, and entirely based on subjective speculations and not on any valid induction. The association on a cross of the early seventh century of Cædmon's name with a poem which was precisely the kind of poem he would have written in the very dialect he spoke is conclusive to me, as it was to Mr. Haigh, Dr. Stephens, and Bishop Browne. The hymn on the margin of the Moore MS. and the poem on the Ruthwell cross are the only remains of Cædmon's verse which are extant in their original form and language.

It is not surprising, however, that in the time of Alfred and

¹ Stephens, *op. cit.* i. 419. ² *Op. cit.* ii. 920. ³ *Op. cit.* i. 419.

later, and when so much of the earlier poetry of the North and East of England which had survived the Danish destruction was translated into another dialect, the poems of Cædmon should fill a notable place, for, apart from their merit, Bede had given them a special prestige.

Let us now turn to what we know of these translations. Mr. Stopford Brooke has given an interesting account of one of them. He says Archbishop Ussher, hunting in England for books and manuscripts with which to enrich the library of Trinity College, Dublin, found a manuscript and gave it to Francis Dujon, a scholar of Leyden, who is known in literature as Junius. He was then librarian to Lord Arundel, and when he left for the Continent in 1650 he took care to have the MS. printed at Amsterdam. He published it as the work of Cædmon, having come to the conclusion on the ground of the substantial agreement between the first lines of the MS. and the Latin abstract which Bede made of the verse that it was the song which Cædmon had sung in his dreams. He afterwards brought it back to England, where it eventually found a home at the Bodleian. Mr. Stopford Brooke claims that not improbably he showed the book to Milton, who was familiar with Bede's writings, and that Milton in fact had the book before him when composing *Paradise Lost*.¹

The book is a small folio of 229 pages. The first 212 pages are written in a fair hand, apparently of the tenth century, while the other 17 pages formed a second book, written in an inferior handwriting and a less grammatical style and more inaccurate orthography. The earlier part of the MS. down to p. 212 consists of a paraphrase of parts of the Old Testament and of the Apocrypha, comprising Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, and the prayer of Azariah, and is written in a good handwriting with rude pictures; and the second, in a more modern handwriting, includes verses on the fall of the rebel Angels, the Harrowing of Hell, the Resurrection and the Ascension, Pentecost, the Last Judgment, and the Temptation.²

Now it is clear that not only does the exordium of the poem in the Bodleian book agree with the portion preserved in the margin of Moore's MS. of Bede, except that it is written in another dialect, but that the rest of it answers very closely to the subject-matter of Cædmon's complete poems as described

¹ See Brooke, *History of Early English Poetry*, ii. 69 and 70.

² Brooke, *op. cit.* ii. 67 and 68.

by Bede. Thus, Bede says that in his first poem he first sang of the doctrine of the Apostles; he also sang many songs of the terror of the future judgment and of the horror of the pains of hell (*poenae gehennalis*) and the delights of the heavenly kingdom, and also many more about the divine benefits and judgments, in all of which he tried to turn men's minds from the love of vice, and to induce them to the love of what was good and to application to good actions.¹

This description of Cædmon's works is clear enough, and it will be remembered that it was written by a singularly clear-headed historian who was virtually a contemporary, and was living when the full glow of the poet's fame was still alive, and when there must have been a large number of people living who had known him in the flesh and were quite competent to inform him of the true facts of the case. It is no wonder, therefore, that all the *editors* of these poems from the time of Junius, e.g. Thorpe, Bouterwek, and Grein, have agreed in attributing them to Cædmon. Some of the *critics*, however, have argued differently, and a notable one lived as long ago as the seventeenth century. This was Hickes, in his *Thesaurus*, i. 133. He urged that the language was not that of Cædmon, in which he showed considerable acumen, for it is now clear that, as in the case of much other Anglo-Saxon poetry, the language of the Bodleian book (which is in the Wessex dialect) was not the language of a Northumbrian poet, but of a tenth-century translator. This does not, however, affect the question that the substance of the poems in the book was the work of Cædmon, nor that the translator sometimes paraphrased his text and sometimes also interpolated it. The subjective method of analysis by which only the best parts of a poem are attributed to the master while the poorer ones are ascribed to a weaker hand seems to be most misleading. Poets of all men are most apt to be unequal. Two very typical instances are Wordsworth and Keats. In one case only do I think the existence of a really important interpolation has been proved in the poems we are discussing, namely, in that on Genesis, where Sievers seems to have clearly shown that the portion of the poem from line 234 to line 852, which has been referred to as "Genesis B," and contains a second account of the Fall of man, has been taken from another version of that story as paraphrased in some other similar poem

¹ Bede, *H.E.*, iv. 24.

written by another poet. It differs from the rest in metre, manner, style, and language. This may well be. Sievers's further argument about this interpolated part has not received the assent of other writers. He claims that it resembles in style, language, etc., that of a part of the famous Old Saxon poem known as the Heliand, and that, like it, it contains evidence that it was partly dependent on a Latin poet of the fifth century. He therefore claims that the interpolated section in the Bodleian book was originally written in Old Saxon by the author of the Heliand. To this view Wölker demurs. He says: "Während niemand die Richtigkeit der scharfsinnigen Entdeckung eines engen Zusammen-hanges von B mit der altsächsischen Dichtung deren Wort und Formelschatz wir allerdings nur nach dem Heliand beurteilen können, in Abrede stellen wird, und gar keine zwingenden Beweis gegeben, dass B nun gerade eine Dichtung vom Verfasser des Heliands sein müsse. Sievers selbst bringt S. 22 gründe vor, welche dagegen sprechen. Aber allerdings wenn B nicht vom Heliand-Dichter geschrieben ist, dann büsst die Abhandlung von Sievers einen in Teil ihres interesses ein."¹

The fact is, that there is the greatest uncertainty about the date of the Heliand. The preface upon which some have relied for an early date for it, which is alone consistent with Sievers's theory, does not occur with the text of the work in the two MSS., and was first published by Flacius Illyricus in 1562, and his MS. cannot be traced. It has been with probability considered a forgery of Flacius. This was the view held by Schulte, writing in 1873, and its contents suggest the conclusion, for they refer to the poet in language which is only an echo of that applied by Bede to Cædmon. Sievers's reply was based on one trifling point only, which is entirely outweighed by a mass of other evidence. It depends on a use of a certain word at a certain date in those early times, which is very dangerous to base a far-reaching induction upon, when we remember how very scanty the documents of that time are. The preface in question makes the poet of the Heliand a mere inspired rude peasant, but inasmuch as he has clearly made use of the works of Bede he must have known Latin. This most dubious document, be it noted, is the only authority for dating the Heliand so early as the reign of Louis I., a date otherwise improbable, since the Saxons had then been so recently converted to Christianity that it is hardly likely the poem could have been written in his time. The oldest MS.,

¹ Wölker, *op. cit.* 127 and 128, note 3. *

I believe, dates from late in the tenth century, and I should be disposed to put its composition about that time, and to conclude that it is much more likely that it was a translation from English than that the English poems in the Bodleian book were derived from it or some other Old Saxon original. It is not improbable in regard to the larger part of it, namely, the Genesis, that it was taken from two English poems on the subject, for there is certainly a duplication of part of the narrative, and that only the earlier part of it, together with the conclusion, was taken from the Wessex version of Cædmon's Northumbrian paraphrase. Who wrote the middle part, which differs much in style and other respects from the rest, we do not know.

The Exodus section, it is generally agreed, is by one author and not a compilation, and there is no good reason for attributing it in its original form to any one but Cædmon, and so also with the Daniel and the prayer of Azariah, all of which answer to Bede's description of Cædmon's work. The same applies to the fragmentary poem forming the second part of the Bodleian MS. and relating to the harrowing of hell, etc. Let us now turn elsewhere.

In 1833 Professor Bluhme found a MS. (a half-ruined skin, says Stephens) written in the Southern or Wessex dialect of Old English, and which had been preserved in the Conventual Library of Vercelli in north Italy. This was published about the years 1836 or 1837 (Appendix B to Cooper's *Report on the Fædera*), and was admirably edited by Thorpe. Among its contents was a poem, entitled by Thorpe "The Holy Rood—A Dream," and consisting of 314 lines. It describes the vision of the Cross as it appeared to a pious sleeper, and gives the beautiful and sublime address of the Cross itself, picturing the Passion of the Saviour. This poem was seen by Mr. Kemble, who recognised that certain of its lines were the counterpart of those he had found in the Rood poem on the cross at Ruthwell. This conclusion he published in the *Archæologia* for 1843. So exact had been his text and version, says Stephens, that the discovery of this MS. copy only left him to correct three letters.¹ The result of Kemble's discovery was the conclusion that the poem in the Vercelli MS. was in substance a work of the seventh century, originally written in the Northumbrian speech, and afterwards translated into West Saxon.² Stephens, speaking of this transformation in the case of the Rood poem, says: "The whole lay is now extant only in the orthodox South English, a Wessex or Book or Court-dialect into which

¹ *Op. cit.* i. 410.

² Stephens, i. 410.

everything was transcribed in the later times previous to the Norman period. But we are now familiar with this operation. It deceives no one. And even still we can often perceive in these South English transcripts, peculiarities distinctive of far older texts, or distinct 'shire' speeches, sometimes of a clearly North English original from which the scribe was making his 'amended' 'Lindley-Murray'-ised and more or less interpolated copy."¹

In 1865 Professor Dietrich published a memoir at Marburg on the cross at Ruthwell, and the poem upon it, in which he claimed to show that the latter coincided with the Vercelli Rood poem. He had, in fact (as learned Germans too often do in the case of English work), overlooked Kemble's splendid monograph on the subject published twenty-two years before, in which that conclusion had been proved. This he in fact presently acknowledged in a later review of Kemble's work.² He assigned the poem to Cynewulf, Bishop of Lindisfarne, 737-780, who died in 782, but, as Stephens says, the lay is a century older, as the stone itself shows. Dietrich did not know of the conclusive fact established by the presence of Cædmon's name on the stone. He also, as does Grein, mistakenly reads *til anum*, instead of *ti lanum*. This, says Stephens, is forbidden by the stave rune, for if we read *anum*, we should have the same vowel as the *al* in the next line, which is inadmissible. "He also," says Stephens, "has some strange readings of the two Thorsbjerg pieces and of some bracteates."³

Stephens says, further: "A careful examination of the South English copy (see the Glossary) shows that the scribe was writing from a North English original, even in those lines which are not carved on the cross. But in addition hereto, a slight acquaintance with the 'Dream' will at once make us aware of one very striking peculiarity of style. This is an extraordinary mixture of accents. Commonly we have the usual two-accented line. But every now and then, under the pressure of poetic excitement or personal taste, or the traditions of a local school, the bard breaks out into three, sometimes four accents in one line, then sinking back again into the regular double tone-weight." Stephens then gives an example from the poem, lines 7-24, and continues: "As far as I know, this rhythmical peculiarity is unknown in Old English verse except here, in Cædmon's Paraphrase and in that noble epic fragment 'Judith.' And I venture to assert that all these are by one and the same Scop. Cædmon wrote

¹ *Op. cit.* i. 411.

² See the *Gott. gel. auz.* for the 5th of July 1865.

³ *Op. cit.* i. 405.

them all. They have all the same colour, all the same Miltonic sublimity, the same steeling of phrase, the same sinking back, not only to the two-accented line, but sometimes to an almost prosaic simplicity in the intervals of his flights of genius. I am thus led to do for ‘Judith’ what Mr. Haigh did for the ‘Dream.’ I attribute it to Cædmon. After-discovery has proved the latter to be right; probably we shall never be able to produce direct evidence with regard to ‘Judith.’”¹ In regard to the date of the Ruthwell cross, which is a critical matter when dealing with the authorship of the poem, Stephens further says: “So we gaze on these baptized Runic runes stones more potent than all the Troll-runes of Heathenry. All the dates are strictly in accordance herewith. It cannot be later than the latter half of the seventh century, for it bears a grammatical form so antique (the accusative dual *ungeat*) that it has hitherto only been met with in this place, while the workmanship also points to the same period.”²

In 1873 the Dane Hammerich wrote a notable work on the oldest Christian epic, which was translated into German the following year. He speaks quite positively in regard to Cædmon being the poet of the Rood poem. I prefer to use his own words in German translation: “Die saule muss nämlich ungefähr gegen Ende des 7 Jahrhunderts, also während Kaedmons Lebenzeit oder doch kurz nach seinem ableben errichtet worden sein. Hierauf führen uns mit Bestimmtheit der stil des Denkmals, seine Schriftzüge, endlich die alttümliche Sprache welche nur Deklinations und Conjugationsform zeigt die in keine der uns erhaltenen Handschriften ueber gegangen sind.”³ Hammerich speaks equally positively about the “Judith” poem.

At present only fragments of the Rood poem as originally inscribed exist on the weather-beaten stone, but Stephens suggests that if we had the cross in its original integrity it is not improbable that the whole of the poem would be preserved on it. Thus, he speaks of one lacuna of fourteen lines as being necessary to the sense. The fragments are short and sublime, he says, and in the poet’s best manner, “and the lost lines have probably stood on one side of the base, or one of the arms of the cross.” Again, of another portion of five lines which is now absent, he says: “These five lines have perhaps been graven on another side of the base or the other arms of the cross,” and he concludes (should this view be correct) that the whole cross-lay has consisted of about forty-four or forty-six lines from Cædmon’s own hands. As his sense

¹ *Op. cit.* 419, 420. ² *Ib.* 420. ³ *Op. cit.* p. 34; see also Walker, 137.

is simpler and terser in some places than the later South English more or less altered and interpolated copy, the forty-seven lines of the polished and modernised skin-book would answer to about forty-four or forty-six of the original North English poem.¹

This conclusion seems most reasonable, and if it be so, we may add a corollary equally plausible, namely, that the poem was not improbably actually composed for this very cross by Cædmon. I will now give the fragments of the poem preserved on the cross in juxtaposition with the corresponding part of the West Saxon version, or rather "extension" contained in the Vercelli Codex.

[On]-geredæ hinæ
God almeyottig
ða he walde
On galgu gistiġa
Modig fore
[Ale] men
[B]ug [a ic ni dars] te

Line 77. On-gyrede hine pa geong hæleð
æt wæs God ælmihtig
strang and stid-mod
ge-stah he on gealgan heanne
modig on manigra gesyhðe
pa he wolde mancyn lysan
Bifode ic pa mese beornymbelypte
ne dorste ic hwæðrebugan to
cordan

[Ahof] ic RIIcnæ cuningc
Heafunæs Hlafard
Hælda ic [n]i darstæ

Line 87. rod wæs ic a sacred
Ahof ic ricne cyning
heofona hlaford
hyldan me ne dorste

Bismærædu ungct men ba æt-gad[r]
Ic [wæs] mid blodæ bistemid
Bi[g]ot[e]n o[f]

Bysmeredon hic unc butu æt
gædere
eall ic wæs mid blode bestemed
begoten of pæs guman sidan

Krist wæs on rodi
Hwæðræ per fusse
Fearran kwomu
Æððilæ ti lanum
Ic pæt al bi[h]eal[d]
S[are] ic wæs
Mip sorgu[m] gi[d]rœ[fe]d
H[u]ag [ic]

Christ wæs on rode
Hvædere hær fuse
feorran cwoman
to pam æðelinge
ic pæt eall beheold
Sare ic wæs
mid [sorgum] gedrefed
Huag ic hwædre

Mip strelum giwundad

eall ic wæs mid strælum for-
wundod

A-legdun hiæ hinæ limwœrignæ
Gisloddun him [æt] h[isl]icæs
[h]leaf[du]m
[Bi]heal[1]du[n] hi[æ] [pe[r]] heafun

aledon hie dær limeverigne
gestodon him æt his lices heafdum

beheoldon hie ðær heofen es
dryhten.

¹ *Op. cit. i. 415.*

Let us now try and shortly analyse the peculiarities of Cædmon's verse. Like other early Teutonic poetry it was marked by a special form which also prevailed in all the other extant Anglo-Saxon verse, and which has been admirably and tersely described by my very accomplished friends, Yorke Powell and Vigfussen in their *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*. I will give their account, which may not be familiar to my readers. They emphasise that this early poetry "knows no rhymes, alliteration being its sole bond; so many sets of alliteration, so many lines; nor was this primitive poetry insistent on a strict number of syllables in each line, nor was it divided into strophes. Every line of old Teutonic poetry is a *blank* verse divided into two halves by a *line pause* which always comes at the end of a word.

"Each half is made up of a fixed number of measures, a measure being a word, or number of words, of which the first root syllable is *stressed* (*i.e.* forcibly pronounced), as one does in speaking when one wishes to draw particular attention to a particular word or syllable; *e.g.*, *We want it, we want it*. A measure never ends nor begins in the middle of a word, such affixes as -*ge*, -*for*, -*um*, -*be*, being treated as separate words in poetry; compounds and strong inflexions are like separate words.

"In every line two stress-syllables at least, one in each half-line, must begin with a similar consonant or vowel (these vowels being usually different, and in later Northern poetry always so). Stress-syllables thus *alliterated* are said to carry *letter-stress*.

"In many lines there occur one or more unstressed syllables which form, as it were, the *elastic*, unmeasured part of the line; these for the want of a better term we call slurred syllables, or collectively, a slur. It is not meant that these syllables are gabbled over; they may be spoken fast or slow, but that they are redundant or unimportant for the 'make' or structure of the verse, and that they would be *less emphasised* and spoken in a less vigorous tone than the rest of the line. There may be one or more slurs in a line.

"When a monosyllabic word is *stressed* and followed by no enclitic words before the next stress, it is succeeded by a short interval of silence, which we call a *rest*; such a monosyllable with its rest is a *measure* in itself.

"Quantity is observed in some measures as in Greek verse. There are two kinds of *rhyme* or sound-echo used in later Northern metres: *full-rhyme*, which may be *single*, 'take' and

'bake,' and double, 'taking' and 'baking,' consonant rhyme, or *consonance*, as 'take' and 'cook.'

"Rhymes may be *end-rhymes*, coming one at the end of each half-line or line of a set, or they may be *line-rhymes*, coming both within one half-line: line-rhymes may come in any stem-syllable of a word.

"A set of lines may form a verse-group which is called a *stanza*.

"A set of lines or of stanzas may form a longer group called a *strophe*.

"A line or lines may be used at necessary intervals as a *refrain* or *burden*."

Again, our authors say: "In the beginning poetry was simply excited *prose* and *emphatic prose* with repetitions of catchwords, and such was no doubt the primitive Teuton poetry. . . . With the Teutons *alliteration of stressed root-syllables* was the pivot on which his metric turned. The Teutons having no musical instruments when we first know them, and having a tongue whose structure did not lend itself well to a purely quantitative system, seem to have hit upon the development of that alliterative stress, which is a feature in almost all early verse, naturally satisfying that marked love of repetition which is seen in all children's and savages' songs and speeches.

"In the older Teutonic law Formulae, and in the old Latin Saturnians, we seem to get specimens of the earlier stage before regular verse of the alliterative type was completely reached, when all the necessary factors were already present—line pause, stresses, and alliteration, but before the artist had arisen who was to fix the type. This great Unknown had, however, arisen before the English crossed the North Sea, for we find the same line, well-marked and unmistakable, in the oldest remains of the German, the Scandinavian, and the English races.

"Its finest specimens are to be found in England, in the Vercelli book and the Cædmon MS., whence, says Yorke Powell, we have called this type of line the Cædmonian line. In the lay of the Rood (preserved in the Vercelli book), attributed to Cædmon as it seems on the Ruthwell cross, we have the purest extant piece of poetry in this metre. . . . It may be fully described as a four-measured line 2 : 2 (two measures in each half), with two letter-stresses in the first half and one in the second, the third letter-stress being the strongest, the first weak, the second the weakest. Sometimes there is but one letter-stress in

the first half-line. There is frequently a ‘slur’ of several words, and this is always placed at the beginning of a line or half-line. Cædmon himself prefers to put it *after* the *line-pause*, and as is well shown in the Rood Song this is far the best place, artistically speaking, for it. Occasionally . . . it heads both halves of the line. The *slur* is spoken in a low but distinct recitative: it is the elastic part of the line and forms a background to the emphatic stresses which stud the line. The effect of such unstressed syllables was soon noticed and taken advantage of.

“The last syllables of each Cædmonian half-line appears to have in preference the quantity – . . . There would be a very good reason for this strict and regular finish before each pause; one wants to feel when the end of the half-line is coming, in such a long and varying metre as this.¹

I will now give a sample or two in translation to show the vigour and force with which the Bible story was paraphrased, and how picturesquely the tale was told. Courthope in his *History of English Poetry*, i. 99, remarks of one phase:—

“It is most significant to observe how many of the fundamental notions of Teutonic mythology and custom are interwoven with Cædmon’s reproductions of the Scripture narrative. Thus the image by which the Bible always suggests the torments of Gehenna is fire; but the old German conception of Nifleheimer, or the underworld, was a place of cold and mist, and these conflicting ideas are strangely blended in many passages at the opening of Cædmon’s ‘Genesis,’ in which the poet seeks to point the abode of the devil. For example:—

“‘Then was God angry and wroth with that host whom formerly He had honoured with beauty and renown. For those traitors He shaped a house of banishment with anguish for their reward, the groans of hell, hard punishments. Our Lord, Guardian of Spirits, bade a house of torment await the exiles, deep and void of joys. When He knew that it was ready, furnished with perpetual night, charged with sulphur, filled throughout with fire, with *intense cold*, smoke and red flame, then through that house void of comfort He bade the dread of torment to increase.’² And again: ‘Therefore stern, in a worse light, God had placed them triumphless in a dark hole; there at even they have, each of the fiends, an immeasurably long renewal of fire; and ere dawn comes, the east wind, frost, bitter cold,

¹ *Op. cit.* i. 431–435.

² Paraphrase by Thorpe, p. 3.

piercing like fire or dart.¹ Mists, too, and vapours prevail in this region, as thus: ‘God Himself hath swept us into these swart mists (thas sweartan misþa).’²

In the Teutonic creed, adds Mr. Courthope, monstrous serpents wander round the world like the Mitgards Orme; or lurk underneath it like the snakes that haunt the Spring Hvergelmir, or the dreadful reptile which fought with Thor. A reminiscence of these horrors pervades the description of hell as painted in the *Descensus ad Inferos*. “Even at hell-gate dragons dwell, hot in spirit; they may not help us.”³ Hence it is imagined that the “floor is on fire with venom scorched,” and hell itself is described as a “horrid den with venom blended.”⁴ Mr. Courthope well remarks that the vivid descriptions of hell in the poem could only have occurred to one steeped in the tradition of polytheism. Thus the poet says: “Verily he might hear who was twelve miles from hell, that there were teeth grinding loud and mournful.”⁵

And when in the “Harrowing of Hell” Satan is cast finally into the burning pit, it is said that when he stood on the bottom there seemed to him to be from thence to hell-gate one hundred thousand miles of measured space.⁶

“Something, too, of the old heathen terror of the Mark land fills the minstrel’s animated rendering of the march of the Israelites out of Egypt.” “The Heavenly Candle (*i.e.* the pillar of fire) burned, the new night-ward must perforce rest over the hosts lest the horrors of the waste, the hoar heath with its raging storms, should overwhelm them, their souls should fail.”⁷

The ancient spirit is no less conspicuous in the paraphrase in those parts relating to war, etc. Abraham is described in the genuine Teutonic vein as “the bold evil”; Pharaoh as “the dispenser of treasure.” When Satan is contemplating his rebellion, he says: “Heroes stern of mood have chosen me for their chief, renowned warriors; with such may one take counsel, with such folk-companions share it. They are my jealous friends, faithful in their thoughts: I may be their leader, rule in this realm; hence it seems not right to me that I in aught should cringe to God for any good. I will no longer be His youngest vassal.”⁸

So when the paraphraser has to describe the battle between the four against the five kings, an image of a tribal battle rises in his mind. “There was hard play, an exchange of deadly

¹ Paraphrase by Thorpe, p. 20.

³ *Ib.* p. 270.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 310.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 226 and 273.

⁷ *Ib.* pp. 184, 185.

² *Ib.* p. 25.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 283.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 19.

weapons, a great warcry, a loud crash of battle. The warriors from their sheaths drew their ring-hilted swords of doughty edge.”¹ Abraham comes to the rescue of the defeated party. “Then the holy man bade his hearth-retainers take their weapons, warriors he found there, bearers of the ashen spear, eighteen and three hundred beside, faithful to their lord. He knew that each could well bear into battle the yellow linden (*i.e.* the wooden shield).”² Mr. Courthope sums up his contention thus: “The foregoing extracts serve to show how many characteristics of the old minstrelsy were preserved in the Cædmonian cycle of song. . . . The most noticeable feature in Cædmon’s art is the readiness with which an exotic class of subjects becomes naturalised in the old poetical soil.”³

I will now give two samples of the vigorous force which marks the narrative in parts of the Old Testament paraphrase. The first one refers to the Deluge:—

“Then the Powerful spake, our Preserver unto Noah said . . . I will with flood the folk destroy. . . . Thou shalt have peace with thy sons. When the swart water the dark death-streams swell with the multitudes, with the guilty wretches. Begin thee a ship to make, a great sea-house . . . form shelves in the ship’s bosom, . . . against the working of the waves make it seem fast. There shall be brought food for the living of every kind, into that wood fastness. . . .”⁴

“Noah zeviously . . . began forthwith to build the house, the great sea chest . . . the greatest of sea houses he strengthened within and without with lime of earth against the flood.”⁵

“Noah then departed as the Preserver bade him, leading his offspring under the wave timber, and their wives with them and all their provisions.”⁶

“. . . The Lord sent rain from heaven and also amply let the well brooks throng on the world from every vein . . . the seas rose over their shore walls . . . then rode it at large under the skies, over the orb of ocean, that house most excellent with its store. . . . Then remembered God the ‘Seafaring’ (*i.e.* Noah); the Lord of triumphs, the son of Lamech . . . the Warrior Lord of hosts then let a wind over the wide land pass, the water ebbed . . . the rain had stilled. . . . Then he

¹ Paraphrase by Thorpe, p. 120.

² *Ib.* p. 123.

⁴ Thorpe, Cædmon’s Paraphrase, pp. 78 and 79.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 80.

³ See Courthope, *op. cit.* i. 101.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 82.

(*i.e.* Noah) assayed at the ship's prow whether the sea flood were yet sinking under the skies. The son of Lamech then let fly out a swart raven over the deep flood from the house. Noah expected . . . that if on the way it found not land over the water it would seek the wave house again. That hope it deceived, for the exulting fowl perched on the floating corpses. . . . Then after seven nights he from the ark let out a livid dove, on discovery whether the foaming sea still deep, had given up any part of the green earth. . . . Widely she her will sought and flew far away, yet she found no rest for the flood, she could not perch on land nor on the tree leaves for the steep mountain tops were with waters covered. The wild fowl at eve went to seek the ark over the dusky wave, weary, to sink hungry, into the hands of the holy man. Then after a week was gone the dove was again sent from the ark; wildly she flew away till that she in space exulting, a fair resting-place found, and then with her feet stepped on a tree, blithe of mood rejoicing because she had sate much, weary on the tree's branches. On the lofty mast she shook her feathers, again she went flying with her gifts and sailing brought a twig of olive tree to hand and green leaves. Then quickly understood the chief of mariners that comfort was become his painful journeying's recompense. Again after the third week the blessed man a wild dove sent which came not again flying to the vessel but she gained the land, and the green groves. She under the pitched boards would not ever afterwards appear in that storied hold. . . .¹

" . . . The Lord spake words to Noah. Teem now and propagate. . . . Never do ye with blood your table meals impiously take, defiled with sin, with blood of life . . . I upon mid earth the torrent host never again will lead. . . . Of this ye in the skies full oft a sensible token may behold, when I my showerbow display. . . . Then was the wise son of Lamech come from the vessel with his three sons, guardians of the heritage, and their four wives, and these were called Percoba, Olla, Olliva, and Ollivani. . . .² Chose him them a dwelling, the son of Haran in Sodom city . . . with his possessions and bracelets from Bethel and household treasures, wealth, twisted gold. . . .³ They four then departed, kings of nations to seek south of thence Sodom and Gomorrah (*i.e.* Chedorlaomer and the other kings).⁴

¹ Thorpe, pp. 88 and 89.

³ *Ib.* p. 115.

² *Ib.* pp. 91-93.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 118.

"Then with hostile hands was by Jordan the soil of the people's natal land wide overspread with enemies. Many a fearful, pale-faced damsel must trembling go into a stranger's embrace . . . the defenders of their brides and bracelets fell sick with wounds . . . they then marched together, the five kings of nations, the javelins were loud, wroth the bands of slaughter, the sad fowl sang amid the dart-shafts dewy of feathers, the rush expecting . . . the warriors with their hands drew from their sheaths the ring-hilted swords of edges doughty, then was early found death-work for the man who was not with slaughter satiate . . . the weapons' leavings went to seek a fastness. The foes pillaged the gold. . . . The holy man (*i.e.* Abraham) bade his hearth retainers their weapons take . . . bearers of the ashen spear . . . the fallow linden . . . the lines of the foes fell thickly where laughing they had borne the spoil. . . . The Lord of the people went of his men bereft, to seek Abraham destitute of friends; with him went Salem's treasures guardian that was the great Melchizedek, the people's bishop who came with gifts. . . .¹ Then went the prince of Salem to Abraham and said to him, Give me the damsels of my people, have to thee the twisted gold that erst belonged to our folk. . . . There is no worldly pelf that I will for myself possess nor shilling. . . . Depart now homeward with the fretted gold and beloved damsels, women of the nations . . . the teeming fowls among the mountain heights sit bloody with the slaughter of those bands thickly filled. . . ."²

In describing a battle between the Israelites led by Moses and the Egyptians, our poet says:—

"Around them screamed the fowls of war, greedy of battle, dewy feathered; over the bodies of the host the wolves sang their horrid evensong, in hopes of food the reckless beasts threatened death to the valiant, on the foes' track flew the army-fowl. The march-wards cried at midnight, the spirit of death flew, the people were hemmed in. At length the proud thanes of that host met amid the paths in bendings of the boundaries; to them there the banner king marched with the standard, the prince of men rode the marches with his band, the warlike guardian of the people clasped his grim helm, the king his visor. The banners glittered in hopes of battle, slaughter shook the proud. He bade his warlike band bear them boldly . . . the hoar army wolves the battle hailed, thirsty for the brunt of war . . . the renowned oft awaited the horn in the phalanx, to the

¹ Thorpe, pp. 121-126.

² *Ib.* pp. 126-130.

leaders of which the warlike host of people ready marched. . . . In the number of the people were fifty bands, each band had of the famed host arm-bearing, warfaring ten hundred numbered illustrious warriors. That was a warlike host. The weak were not admitted into that martial number, the leaders of the army, those that for youth, might not yet under their bucklers the breast-net (*i.e.* shirt of mail) of men against the arrows of the enemies with their limbs defend, nor baleful wounds had injured ; sore body-wounds over the linden shields—the darts exulting play. The aged, the hoary chieftains might not engage in battle, yet in the bands their mind and might had sway, for they according to their strength each chose each warrior how to the nation he would show valour with glory also by dint of might. . . . Leaped then before the warriors the man of war, the bold commander, with his shield upraised who bade the folk leaders stay the march while many should hear the bold chief's address. . . . Then before the multitudes he raised a loud voice, before the people of the living when he to the nations spake : ‘Lo ye now with your eyes behold, most beloved of people, a stupendous wonder ; how I myself have struck with this right hand, a green sign the ocean’s deep, the wave ascends ; rapidly worketh the water a wall fastness ; the ways are dry, rugged army roads ; the sea hath left its old stations, where before I have never heard of men journeying over mid earth, there are now variegated fields which from this time through eternity the waves have covered, the salt sea depths hath the south wind dried up, the sea wave’s blast. Ocean is swept away, the sea’s ebb hath drawn the sand. I know in sooth full well that to you the mighty God will have shewn mercy, O chiefs, ere sunset. Quickest is best so that ye from the enemies’ may grasp escape. Now the Lord hath upreared the red streams as a protecting shield, the fore-walls are fairly raised (wondrous roads) to the cloud’s roof.’ After those words, the host all rose, the power of the bold : the sea stood still. Martial hands raised the white lindens, the banners on the sands ; the sea wall rose, stood erect towards the Israelites on one day’s space. The host of men was of one mind. . . . Then the fourth tribe went foremost, waded into the wave stream the warriors in a body, over green ground. The tribe of Judah hastened singly an unknown way before their kinsmen, so on them the mighty God for that day’s work a high reward the stern worker of victories bestowed, since that to them he granted that it the eldership should possess over the kingdoms, the flower of

their kin. They had over their bucklers for their banner when into the sea they marched a signal reared in the armed band, a golden lion, greatest of tribes, keenest of beasts. . . . After that band the sea-men proudly moved, the sons of Reuben, bare their shields, sea vikings (*sæ vikingar*) over the salt marsh. . . . The power went forth . . . on their way forth, folk by folk, tribe by tribe. Each one knew his right of kin as Moses bade them, the chief nobility. To them was one father a beloved patriarch.”¹

The destruction of the Egyptian host in the Red Sea is told with wonderful picturesqueness and force. “The folk was affrighted, the dread flood seized on their sad souls; the ocean wailed with death, the mountain heights were with blood steamed, the sea foamed gore, there was crying in the waves and the water was full of weapons. A death mist rose; the Egyptians were turned back, they fled trembling, they felt fear, would that host ever gladly find their homes? Their vaunt grew sadder, for the rolling of the waves rose against them like a cloud. Then came none of that host to home, but from behind they were enclosed by the fateful wave. Where paths once passed, the sea now raged . . . the storm rose high to heaven, the loudest army-cry uttered the host, the air above was thickened with dying voices, blood infused the flood; the shield walls were riven, the firmament shook, the proud dead kings died in a body in that greatest of sea deaths. Over the soldiers’ bucklers shone as the proud ocean stream their might fast fettered. . . . The tides neap obstructed by the war enginery laid bare the land to the pallid host, when the ever cold sea with the salt waves rushed on. . . . The blue air was with corruption tainted, the bursting ocean whooped a bloody storm the sea-men’s way . . . it swept death in its embrace, the flood foamed, the fated died, water deluged the land . . . the guardian of the flood struck the unsheltering wave with an ancient faulchion, and in the swoon of death those armies slept . . . there was drowned the flower of Egypt, Pharaoh with his folk. . . . Of that multitude, came not home again of all the boundless host any as remnant, to proclaim their fate, and to publish to the consorts of the warriors the greatest of baneful tales, there princes fell, and those mighty bands the sea-death swallowed.”²

In describing the march of Moses and his host on Etham, after destroying the Egyptian host, the poet recalls the scene

¹ Thorpe, pp. 192–199.

² *Ib.* pp. 206–210.

in picturesque condensed phrases. "On their south was the Ethiop's land, scorched mountain-tops, with a people burned with the hot coals of heaven. Then the holy God shielded the people against the heat intense, with a canopy he overspread the burning heaven, with a holy net the torrid air. The cloud in its wide curtain divided the earth and firmament. It led the nation host, and quenched was the flame-fire of the heaven's bright heat. The people were amazed, and most joyous with the shade of their day-shield of rolling clouds. The Wise God shrouded the sun's course with a sail. Through the short ropes their sight could not penetrate nor could they see the sail-cross and how all the enginery was fastened in that greatest of field houses."¹

Let us now turn to the second part of the Bodleian book, where the vivid suggestion of the pictures, the rapidity of the thought, and the simplicity, directness, and passion of the narrative are specially extolled by a good critic, namely, Mr. Stopford Brooke. As he says, the characters live, and notably the chief hero himself, Satan, while his dwelling-place hell is painted with fine imaginative colours from a master's hand, however crude in form. "The description of the latter seems," says the author just quoted, "to belong to a time when the Northern idea of the realm of the dark death-goddess Hel had begun to be influenced by the Christian hell." If that conception mingled at all with the hell now before us, we might be able to suggest a conjectural date for this poem. The Northern Helle is not a place of punishment filled with fire, nor is it dwelt in by the evil only. All go down to it save the heroes who die in battle—even Brynhild and Balder. It lies low down to the North, in a pale, mist-world (Nifleheimer), covered with night, very cold, swept with winds; with gates, a great hall where the goddess dwells, a fountain in the midst where dragons and serpents lie, and twelve roaring rivers, gloomy and joyless. *Muspell* is the fire-world in the South, and no human beings ever pass into it. Various fragments of this conception appear in the hell of this poem. Fire-breathing dragons are at its gates, and serpents swarm in it. There is a hall in it, in which Satan wanders like Hel. It is cold and dark, and over it broods abysmal cloud. Those who wander in it are black-visaged. These are the heathen fragments. The Christian hell—in which the name of the goddess was changed into the name of a place—is made a realm of fire, like Muspell, but unlike Muspell is filled with human souls as well as

¹ Thorpe, Cædmon's Paraphrase, pp. 182, 183.

demons. This place is vigorously described in the poems. It is sunk deep in the lowest abyss, "underneath high nesses" (*i.e.* promontories, a new image in the description of hell). This is twice repeated, and links the conception of the place to the mediæval notion of the last pit of hell. Below these, as if on their strand, the fiends sometimes assemble and mourn. The cliffs stand round a "deep-tossing and weltering sea of fire, greedy and ravenous—a loathsome lair." This heaving and leaping sea is hell's floor—"an ocean mingled with venom and with venom kindled." Serpents move in it and twine round naked men; adders and dragons dwell in it (in "Judith" hell is called "a hall of serpents"); its wind-swept hall is filled with anguish. The devils wander to and fro in it, howling in woe; and twelve miles beyond the gates of this narrow realm of hate the gnashing of their teeth is heard in the abyss of space. The gates are huge, dragons sit at them, and they are fast, shut up and immovable save when Christ comes upon them, when they are battered down to the noise of thunder at dawn. When Satan speaks, fire and poison fly from his lips with his words, and flicker through hell; and he is as restless in hell as he is said in the Book of Job to be on earth. The very distance from Palestine is given. Hell is 100,000 miles below the Mount of the Temptation. This is as definite as Dante. Much of this is freshly imagined, and its possible nearness to heathen thought gives it a greater interest than the later mediæval conceptions possess.¹

The first poem, "The Fall of the Angels," begins with the praise of God as Creator, and with a sketch of the fall of Satan into hell. Then the "Old One" wails for his loss of heaven, and for the fiery ruin in which he lives. He is far more convinced of his sin than the audacious devil of "Genesis." "I may never hope," he cries, "to have again the better home I lost through pride." A new motive is now introduced. In the "Genesis" all his companions love him and are on his side. Here they reproach and scorn him. "With lying words thou hast deceived us; God thou wast; thyself wast the Creator—so thou saidst; a wretched robber art thou now, fast bound in bands of fire." Another curious phrase is the following, where we meet with the son of the devil, as if in heaven he had imitated God and sent his son forth as master: "Full surely thou saidst that thy son was the creator of man; all the greater are now thy pains." Again Satan takes up his complaint, and repeats in different

¹ Stopford Brooke, *History of Early English Literature*, ii. 129-131.

phrases the same motive—regret for heaven, hopelessness of return, the present horrors of hell. A third time he takes up the same cry ; and then a fourth time, the words flying from him in sparks likest to poison, and he bursts out into a passionate agony of vain repentance—

164. O thou helm of banded hosts ! O high glory of the Lord !
 O thou might of the great Maker ! O thou Middle-Earth !
 O thou dazzling daylight ! O delight of God !
 O ye angel hosts ! O thou upper Heaven !
 O that I am all-bereft of the Everlasting Joy !
 That I may not with my hands reach unto the Heaven,
 Never with these eyes of mine upwards look again ;
 Never with mine ears ever hear again
 Sounding clear the clang of the clarions of God.

“Woe and torment, exile must I bear, wander a wide wandering in wretchedness and care, for I strove to drive from his throne the Lord of Hosts.” This is the first song in the poem, and it ends with an outburst on the poet’s part of warning to men, and of a prophecy of the joy of heaven.¹

The second complete poem of this part of the Junian Cædmon is on the “Harrowing of Hell,” and begins at line 366. It commences with a sketch of the fall of Lucifer into hell, and then breaks abruptly into the subject. “Anguish came on hell, thunder-crash before the Judge, as He bowed and shattered the gate of hell, but joy was in the heart of men” (that is, of the good spirits in prison) “when they saw the Saviour. But full of horror were the fiends, wailing far and wide through the windy hall.” “Terrible is this, since the storm has come to us, the Hero with His following, the Lord of Angels. Before Him shines a lovelier light than we have ever seen, since we were on high among the angels. So will now our pains be deeper.” Then,—for now the poet repeats his motive in order to introduce the speech of Eve,—then came the Angel-cry, loud thunder at the break of day. The Lord had overcome His foes—war-feud was open on that morning, when He came to lead forth the chosen souls of Adam’s race. Yet Eve could not look upon the glow of joy till she had spoken, and her speech occupies nearly forty lines. It may mark the early origin of the poem, that the important place among the souls in Hades is given to a woman. She tells the story well ; she makes picture after picture of hell before the Saviour’s coming. He listens courteously to the end. She

¹ Stopford Brooke, ii. 131–133.

begins with the story of their fall, speaking for Adam and herself. "Our guilt was bitterly recompensed; thousands of winters have we wandered in this hot hell, dreadfully burning. But now, I beseech thee, Prince of Heaven, that I with all my kins-folk may go up from hence. Three nights ago came a servant of the Saviour" (this was Judas), "home to hell. Fast is he now in prison, yet he told us that God Himself would enlighten this house of hell, our dwelling." From this happy invention of Judas, his message and his fate, she turns to describe how the news was received by all the Old Testament saints waiting in hell—

432. Then up-lifted each himself; on his arm he set himself,
 On his hands he leant. Though the hellish Horror
 Full of awfulness appeared, yet was every one
 Midst his pains delighted, since the Prince of Men
 Willed their home to visit and to bring help to them.

Then she reached out her hands and besought the King of Heaven through the office of Mary. "Thou wert in truth, O my beloved Lord, born into the world of my daughter, now it is plain that thou art God."

She ended, and Christ, driving the fiends deeper into hell, took upwards with Him all the host of the redeemed. "It was fair indeed, when they came to their fatherland, and with them the Eternal to His glorious 'burg.' Holy prophets put forth their hands, and lifted them into home," and they sat down to feast. Then, as in an assembly of English nobles, Christ rose and made His speech to them—and the phrase with which He begins recalls the Witan: "Wise spirits," He starts, and in His turn he gives another account of the fall and of its punishment; "O 'twas woe to me," He cries, "that the work of My hands should endure the chain of the prison-house. Then I came on earth and died. Well it was for you that the warriors pierced Me with spears upon the gallows tree." So spake the Ward of Glory on the morning of the Resurrection! The poem then turns to describe the Resurrection, the Ascension, Pentecost, and the Last Judgment, and each fragment closes with a separate outbreak of religious warning and joy. As in the previous part, this similar ending suggests that these were isolated songs, collected here and placed together by a later editor. There is nothing in them of any special worth.¹

At line 665, another fragment of a separate poem, inserted

¹ Stopford Brooke, ii. 133-135.

out of its historical place, relates a part of the story of the Temptation. It is only remarkable for the mocking speech of Christ when He repels the tempter on the mountain, such a speech as an English warrior might have made to his foe : “ Go, accursed, to the den of punishment, but I bid thee take no jot of hope to the burghers of hell ; but promise them the deepest of all sorrows ; go down, and know how far and wide away is dreary hell. Measure it with thine hands, and grip against its bottom. Go, till thou knowest all the round of it ; from above to the abyss, measure how broad is the black mist of it. Then wilt thou understand that thou fightest against God. Go with speed, and before two hours are passed, thou shalt have measured thine allotted house ! ”

So he fell down to dreadful pains—down towards hell, and first he measured with his hands the torment and the woe, and then (as he descended) the lurid flame smote upwards against him, and then he saw the captives lie below him in hell, and then the howl of the demons reached his ear when they saw the unholy one return, and then he on the bottom stood. And when he was there, it seemed to him that to hell’s door from the place where he had been was 100,000 miles by measure. And he looked round on the ghastly place, and there rose a shriek from all the lost, and they cried aloud to the Lord of their kingdom—

There ! be ever thou in evil ! Erst thou wouldest not be good.¹

As a specimen of the “ Judith ” poem I extract a passage in reference to her dealings with Holofernes. The tenth book begins with a vigorous description of a great drinking feast given by him, which lasts the whole day till all the captains were furiously drunk. As to Holofernes, himself, he seems to be drawn direct from some English chief well known for drinking prowess. “ He laughed and shouted and raged so that all his folk heard far away how the stark-minded stormed and yelled, full of fierce mirth and mad with mead.” He bids Judith be led to his tent. A golden fly-net hangs between his bed and the drinking chamber, so that he could see the guests, but they might not look on him. Drunk, he fell on his bed, and Judith stepped forth with plaited tresses. And she held a sharp sword, hardened by the storms (*scurum*) of battle, “ drew it from the sheath, and called on the

¹ Stopford Brooke, ii. 135, 136.

Ward of Heaven, God the Creator, spirit of consolation." The prayer is nobly wrought, brief and forceful, full of passion—passion for her country and her God, passion of the woman brought so near to shame. "Let me hew down," it ends, "this lord of murder! Venge thou, O God, that which is so angry in me, the burning in my heart." The slaughter is then carefully described. Her cleverness as she seizes the heathen by the hair and fits him for the blow; her strength as she drives the glittering sword half through his throat, and then again smites the heathen dog, half-dead, till his head rolled out upon the floor, are as vigorously hewn into the verse as the sword into Holofernes. "There lay the foul carcase, but the spirit turned to go to the deep abyss, and was battened down, with pangs, with worms enwound in that snake-hall."

Book xi. then takes Judith and her "pale-cheeked maid," with the head in their bag, out of the sleeping camp, till they see the "shining walls of fair Bethulia. There sat on the ramparts the burghers, watching, and Judith called on them and the folk ran to the gate, men with women, crowding together, stormed and raced, old and young in thousands, to meet the divine maid." She bids her girl unwrap the bloody head, and Joan of Arc could not have made a more impassioned, a more warlike speech—

177. Clearly may ye now, conquering heroes strong;
O ye leaders of the people gaze upon the head
of this heathen lord of fight, of this loathliest (of men)
Holofernes, now unliving,
who of all men made most of murderous woes for us!

185. By the help of God
I have wrenched his life away. Now will I bid each of you,
each burg-dweller, to the battle.

189. Fit ye for the fighting! When the God of first beginnings,
merciful and monarch,¹ eastward arises
bright with the blaze of day, then bear your lindens forward.
Shield-board sheltering your breast, byrnies for your raiment,
helmets all a-shining, midst that horde of scathers;
felling the folk-leaders with the flashing swords.
Chieftains cursed for death! (Courage!), all your foes
to the death are doomed! Ye shall have dominion,
and gain a glory in the battle; for the greatest Lord
hath a handsel given through mine hand to you.

¹ *Arfeast cynning*, "glorious king," but "Ar" has also the sense of compassion.

"Then the host of swift ones speedily made ready ; all the warriors bold as kings, all the comrades, bore their victory-banners and fared into the fight ; forward in right line they moved ; all the heroes under helm from the holy burg at the breaking of the day. Din there was of shields, loud they rang ; and the gaunt wolf of the weald rejoiced, and the black raven greedy of slaughter. Well they knew both of them that the heroes thought to count out death to the doomed ;¹ and upon their track flew the erne, hungry for his fodder ; all his feathers dewy ; dusky was his sallow coat ; horny-nebbed, he sang his battle-song. Swiftly stepped the chiefs of battle to the field of carnage, with the hollow lindens sheltered. . . . Then they let, with valiancy, showers of their arrows, adders of the battle, fly from their bows of horn, hard-headed bolts. Loudly stormed the warriors fierce, and their spears they sent, right into the host of hard ones. . . . So the Hebrews showed their foes what the sword-swing was."

By this time the Assyrian host was awake, and Book xii. relates how messengers came from the outskirts of the host to the chief thegns, and how they roused the standard-bearing warrior ; and how they took counsel whether they dared to wake Holofernes. Too much at this crisis is made of this poor motive. They gather round their lord's tent. No noise awakens him. At last, one bolder than the rest breaks in, and lo ! pale lay his gold-giver on the bed, robbed of life. "Here lies," he cries, "headless, hewn down by sword, our Upholder." All their weapons fall ; they fly ; behind them throngs a mighty folk ; the Hebrew heroes "hew a path with swords through the press, thirsty for the onset of the spear." So fell in dust the nobles of Assyria, "left to the will of the wolves, fodder for the fowls of slaughter." Then is told the gathering of the spoil. "Proud, with plaited locks, the Hebrews brought precious treasures to Bethulia's shining burg—helms and hip-seaxes (*i.e.* short swords), bright grey byrnies, and panoplies of warriors inlaid with gold. And to Judith, wise and fair of face, they gave the sword and bloody helm and eke the huge byrnie of Holofernes all with red gold embossed, and his armlets and bright gems. For all this she said praise be to the Lord of every folk." Then the poem makes a fair ending, tender and gracious, and touched with that love of nature which we so often find among the English—

¹ Or, perhaps, "to furnish for them their fill on the doomed."

347.

To the Lord beloved, for this

Glory be for widening ages ! Wind and light He shaped of old,
 Sky above and spacious earth, every one of the wild streams,
 And the æther's jubilation—through His own delightfulness.¹

We will lastly turn to the finest of all Caedmon's poems, which is preserved for us on the Ruthwell cross and in the Vercelli Codex. I will collect a selection of passages from the translation of Professor Stephens, which echoes very fairly the language of the original, and which I shall in the main follow.

Methought me that I saw
 sudden in mid-air
 mantling with light rays,
 a Marvellous Tree,
 With beams the brightest,
 the pillared beacon
 glittered with gold.
 Its four corners
 were graced with fairest gems,
 while five as bright
 were over the span of the shoulder.
 All the Seraphs beheld it wistful,
 Angel-hosts of endless beauty.
 'Twas no wicked outcast's gallows,
 but holy Spirits
 hied and hastened to greet it,
 with men of our mid earth
 And each mystic orb-king.

I sin-cankered
 eyed that Wuldor stem
 shining and shimmering
 shrouded with hangings and gold
 flashing with bright jewels
 in lustrous lines
 o'er its lordly timber.
 Yet saw I plainly
 through its golden surface
 how the grim ones had gashed it.
 It began to trickle ;
 red drops from its right side starting.
 Rueful anguish then o'erpowered me
 I feared sorely at that fairest vision.
 As I gazed, the shivering beacon
 all changing, weltered heart-gore sadly,
 and oozing sweat the rich stem crimsoned.

¹ Stopford Brooke, *op. cit.* ii. 137-143.

So I lay long
looking and sighing,
beholding with sorrow
the Healer's tree ;
till at last its outcry
leapt forth loudly
and that wood most blissful
uttered words.

It was of yore,
even yet I mind it,
when I was hewen down
at the wood's outskirt.
By axes torn from the bole
burly foemen took me straightway.
Then gangs of thralls lifting me
they bore me on their bending shoulders
up to a beetling upland
where the fierce ones fixed me upright.
There the "Frea" of mankind I saw
mighty eager
to mount me trembling.
But I durst not, against
the Drecten's word
bow me or break,
though earth's bosom was quaking.
I could have felled them all
but I firmly stood.

The youthful hero,
(lo the man was God Almighty);
strong of heart and steady minded
he stept on the lofty gallows
fearless and spite that crowd of faces.
To save the tribes of men he would be there.
I trembled and bevered when that "baron" clasped me
but I dared not look me earthward.

'Twas my duty to stand fast.
"Rood" was I thus reared,
bearing the Rich King,
the Lord of Light-realms ;
and I durst not stoop.
Dark-hued nails they drove thro' me
whose deep scars men can see here,
open chasms made by hammers.
Yet to kill or hurt them I shuddered.
They mocked and handled us both,
and all with blood was I bedabbled
gushing grievous from his dear side,
when his ghost he up-rendered.

For days on that hill
 was I sorely troubled.
 For days I saw hanging
 the God of hosts.
 Clouds gloomy and swarthy
 covered the corpse of "the Waldend,"
 o'er the sheer shine-path
 heavy shadows fell
 darkly 'neath the welkin.
 All creation wept
 and wailed the loss of their king !
 Christ was on the Rood-tree.
 But fast and from afar,
 his friends hasted
 to help their atheling.
 I saw everything.
 Sorely was I
 with sorrows harrowed,
 yet humbly I inclined
 towards the hands of his servants,
 striving with might to aid them.
 Straight they took the all-ruling God
 rescuing him from that dire torment.
 Those "Hilde-rinks" now left me
 streaming with blood drops ;
 with strels was I all wounded.
 They laid him down limb-weary.
 O'er his lifeless head they stood,
 Gazing eagerly at Heaven's chieftain.
 The holy body after the death fight
 rested awhile, "moil-worn."
 Then a mould house (*i.e.* a grave) they dug.

 Out of bright stone blocks they carved it.
 And there put "the Sovran Victor,"
 and sadly sang their grave lays,
 through that eventide ;
 sadly did they carry
 their Lord their Loving Captain.
 Lonesome was his narrow chamber.

 We (*i.e.* the crosses) awhile
 stood on that steep.
 And then a band of battle men
 rose up.
 His body was now cold,
 and his fair soul-house was sallow.
 And soon they cut us down to earth,
 awful was that fall.
 They then delved a pit, and deeply hid us in it ;
 but the friendly Drecten's thanes

found where they had flung us.
Forth they drew me
and gleefully bedecked me
with gold and silver.
Thus hear thou
dearest heart-friend
how I have mournfully borne
sorest sorrows
from these miscreants.
The time is now come
when far and wide
men o'er this mould
worthily honour me.
And all the world of things
bends in prayer to this "beacon."
Once God's bright one
suffered on my substance.
Hence why I now rise up
so stately under heaven.
And can heal all
who are "awed" before me.
Once was I, (and it was
my heaviest penalty)
in each land most loathsome.
Ere the way of Life
I made wide and open
to wise and foolish;
but the Wuldor Elder,
Heaven's guardian
honoured me
more than any hill tree
like as his Mother
Mary herself
whom Almighty God
has magnified
before each one
over every woman!
and now, I bid thee
dearest heart friend
tire not to tell of the Tree of glory
on which the Prince of Peace
suffered his passion
for the many sins
of Man's children.
For the olden misdeeds
of Father Adam.
Death he there tasted
but the Drecten thane breaking
with his mickle might
for the help of man,

To heaven he ascended.
To this our "mid-earth"
he will come again
to visit men
on the Day of Doom.
He the dread one,
God Almighty,
and his angels with him.
He who hath power of judgment
will so judge them,
as each and every one,
in this miserable life
their deeds they merited.
Pale need no one be
nor panic-stricken,
at the words which then
the Waldend will speak.

Be there any creature
who for God's name's sake
will give Himself up
to torment and death,
as on the Tree He did.

No one need be
pale and panic-stricken,
who shall bear on his breast
this most blessed beacon.
Thro' the cross each Christian
may reach the Kingdom
and his soul soar from earth skyward,
if it willetteth rightly
to abide with the Waldend.

Then hied I to the beacon
in blithest mood.
And with all my heart
where I lay alone
in my humble homestead.

Holy musings
filled me with flame thoughts.

Now the hope of my life
is ever to turn to
that tree of Triumph.

And to cling to the Crucified.
From me are now rent
My friends, the mightiest.

They have sought the Wuldor King
 and found a harbour in heaven
 from our world's pleasaunce,
 with the High Father
 in glee and glory.
 I went each day longingly,
 till the Lord's Cross-tree
 on our earth's platform,
 which I once gazed at
 from the lands of this Care-world
 should call and fetch me
 should take me yonder
 to the City Celestial
 where bliss overfloweth.
 There the Saviour's disciples
 sit at his supper,
 and there is song for ever.
 And there he shall place me
 in that palace wonderful
 where the King shall crown me
 with grace and glory
 among God's hallowed ones.
 Christ will be my friend,
 who on earth erewhile
 underwent torture
 and suffered on the gibbet
 for the sins of men.
 He uplifted us ;
 life he gave us
 and heavenly habitations.
 Bliss and bloom cheered the sad one
 when his banner reached Hell.

• • • •

Splendid was his on-march,
 mighty and magnificent
 when he came with multitudes
 of ghostly legions
 to God's high kingdom.
 When he the matchless monarch,
 gave mirth to his angels,
 and to the saints his saved ones,
 who were seated in heaven
 and dwelling in brightness.
 When the Weldend,
 God Almighty
 came to his old home-halls.¹

¹ Stephens, *Runic Monuments*, i. 423-429.

Several words in the poem are here given in their old form, and need a gloss. Thus :—

Dryhten or *Drecten*, Lord, Prince, is also applied to Christ and the Father. It is the Scandinavian *Drotten*, and comes from the verb to dree, to hold out, to act valiantly and enduringly.¹

Wuldor, from the same root as *Waldend*, wield of power, might, majesty, glory, also paradise.

Atheling, from *athel*, noble = nobling, noble youth, prince, especially applied here to the heir-apparent or a prince of the blood; hence to Christ.

Bever, to quake or tremble.

Frea, the Frey of the Scandinavians, the god of Peace and Bliss, once worshipped on Friday, afterwards used as an epithet of honour for a prince or chieftain, and also for Christ and the Father.

Hilde-rink, hero of Hilde (Bellona).

Battle-brave, captain, soldier, man.²

¹ Stephens, *Runic Monuments*, i. 429, note.

² *Ib.* 429 and 430, notes.

APPENDIX IV

THE MEMORIAL CROSSES OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY IN NORTHERN ENGLAND

AMONG the early monuments of our country few can rival in beauty, in artistic interest, and in historical importance the finer stone crosses erected in Northern England in early days. They have recently aroused a good deal of attention, and have given rise to some theories which in my view are so fantastic and so contrary to all sound induction and archæological good sense that I deem it necessary to devote some pages to their discussion. This fantastic writing has extended to their date, their ornamentation, and the meaning and interpretation of their inscriptions where such exist. It is not perhaps singular that the writers who have published the most impossible theories about them have not been Englishmen who have made a long study of our archæology, and have in consequence learnt how to treat our archæological facts in rational perspective, but foreigners, who have had a very casual knowledge either of our history or our antiquities. America, Germany, and Italy have all furnished critics of the subject, whose conclusions are largely based on subjective methods which seem to ignore the most elementary facts underlying the issue. Let us now see what these facts are.

In the first place, these crosses are all clearly Christian. The fact that the cross is occasionally found as an ornament in early pagan structures is true, but that fact has no connection with our issue. Stone crosses, used as memorials or set up as symbolic emblems in early times in various places in Britain, are unmistakable signs of Christian culture and are so accepted by everybody.

Secondly, such early Christian crosses as specially concern us here are limited to certain geographical areas. In regard to England they are only found in the North and in the West, and are virtually absent, or very scarce, from Wessex, Mercia south of the Mersey and the Trent, and East Anglia. The district, however, where they abound is almost entirely that situated within

the boundaries of the kingdoms of Northumbria and Northern Mercia.

Northumbria was divided into two sections by the river Tees, each of which was for a while, as we have seen, an independent kingdom, and later a sharply contrasted province. The northern one was called Bernicia, and the southern one Deira ; the former answering to the modern counties of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire north of the Lune, and the latter to the county of York.

In describing the great wooden cross set up by King Oswald at Heavenfield, near Hexham, where he defeated and killed the British King Cædwalla in the year 635, Bede says : “ As we have understood, there was no sign of the Christian faith, no church, no altar erected throughout all the nation of the Bernicians, before that new commander of the army, prompted by the devotion of his faith, set up the banner of the cross as he was going to give battle to his barbarous enemy.”¹

The year 635, therefore, is a notable date as a *terminus a quo* in fixing the chronology of the crosses of Bernicia. In regard to Deira, or Yorkshire, the possibilities are somewhat different, since that area was the scene of the labours of a Christian mission in the earlier reign of King Ædwin, under Paulinus and his protégé James the Deacon. In a work on St. Augustine the Missionary, which I recently published, I followed the current view that one or two of the Yorkshire crosses and those at Whalley in Lancashire may have been contemporary memorials of the mission of Paulinus. I now think this is unlikely, and that they were probably set up some years afterwards as memorials of the proto-evangelist of Northumbria. No such memorials mark anywhere the mission of Augustine in the South, and as Paulinus was a Roman by origin and belonged to that mission, it is unlikely that he would have adopted the practice in the North, nor do any of these stone crosses recall the ornament and style derived from Rome or known in Italy or Gaul at that time. I now believe that all these stone crosses are of a later date.

The first memorial crosses existing in the North about whose date there can be no doubt are those which were found at Hartlepool and elsewhere, which are ear-marked as to date and significance by their inscriptions as well as by their style. I have already described them and discussed their inscriptions,

¹ Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, iii. ch. 2.

which show that they belong to the second half of the seventh century. They are unmistakably of Irish origin and due to the mission of St. Aidan. I have given figures of some of them, and also a representation of specimens of some from Ireland in the plates. A cross of similar style is preserved on a slab at Jarrow, and was doubtless the foundation-stone of the church. A fragment of a cross also of the same type was found by Dr. Greenwell at Bellingham, near Durham, and is now in the British Museum. It is inscribed "Orate pro F." My friend, Professor Lethaby, says of this inscription: "It is written in beautiful minuscules that must have been written by a learned scribe. . . . A fragment of a cross from Dewsbury in the same museum is also inscribed in good minuscules, and it cannot be far removed in age from the other. Its date must be about 700."

It is not these small funereal crosses, however, that are occupying us now, and we will turn to the real purpose of this essay, namely, the discussion of some of the magnificent series of crosses and cross fragments which have been found in Northumbria, of which the most notable are those at Bewcastle and Ruthwell, which are such splendid examples and which really mark a great epoch in the history of the ornamental art of this realm. Such crosses seem to have been put up partly to mark sacred spots where baptisms and other services were afterwards held by the itinerant missionaries, or as memorials, etc. In the life of St. Willibald, who was born about the year 700, we read that when he was about three years old his parents made a dedication of him before the great cross of our Lord and Saviour. "For it is the custom of the Saxon race that on many of the estates of nobles and of good men, they are wont to have, not a church, but the standard of the Holy Cross, dedicated to our Lord and reverenced with great honour, lifted up on high." Let us now turn to the date of these crosses.

Before dealing with the question directly, I should like to say a few words about the theories which have been enunciated by some foreign archæologists, and notably by an American writer, Professor Cook, and by others who seem to me to be entirely unconscious of the immense mass of work that has been done by English archæologists, who have worked for several decades on strictly inductive lines to illuminate and trace the origin and progress of English art. These foreign critics have, so far as can be judged, only an elementary knowledge of our monuments.

It is forgotten by some archæologists that that science is only a branch of history, and that a preliminary study of the history of a country is absolutely necessary if we are to explain, and especially to date, its monuments. First, then, I would explain the very elementary fact that English history is divided sharply into two great provinces by the Norman Conquest. That conquest displaced the nobles and gentry of this realm (that is, the educated classes) almost *en bloc*. Its effect on the personnel of the Church was almost as great as it was in regard to the civil grandes. French-speaking and thinking priests filled most of the dioceses and rapidly monopolised the canonries and other dignified posts. Some of the monasteries retained for a while their English complexion, nor did the speech of the country begin to change for a time, otherwise the life of the educated people and the priesthood changed almost entirely. Architecture and the other arts received a new impetus and developed greatly.

By the middle of the twelfth century the change had become very marked in all these matters, and, as is well known, the old language had then become so obsolete that Latin translations of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* became necessary, works composed in Anglo-Saxon entirely ceased to be written, while the vernacular speech became almost entirely disused in the scriptoria of the monks. Meanwhile England became covered with fair minsters and parish churches, of which large numbers remain, which have been minutely studied and their architectural and sculptural details classified and described. It is doubtful, indeed, whether there is anything new to learn of any moment in regard to the arts of the twelfth century in England.

Now it is to the twelfth century that the Commendatore Rivoira¹ and Professor Cook² attribute such splendid and unique monuments of art as the great Northern memorial crosses. I have no hesitation in saying (and I am sure I shall be supported by every English writer having any claim to authority on the question of the history of English art, especially ecclesiastical art) that there is no single feature about these crosses or their ornamentation which in the least resembles English artistic work of the twelfth century or can be found in any work attested

¹ *Lombardic Architecture* (1910), vol. ii. p. 143; and *Burlington Magazine*, April 1912.

² "The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses," *Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, Dec. 1912.

by documentary evidence to belong to the twelfth century in any part of these realms. Nor, may I say very emphatically, can anything like it be found in remains of that date in any part of continental Europe. I had written this when I met with the following sentence in which my friend, Sir Moncure Conway, has expressed with his usual facile pen the general conclusion which most, if not all, archaeologists in this country have reached on the issue before us. He says: "Take a photograph of either the Ruthwell or the Bewcastle cross, which Professor Cook would assign to the twelfth century, and place beside it a photograph of any undoubted work of twelfth-century decorative sculpture, they will at once be seen to be expressive of different worlds. The ideal behind the one is not the ideal behind the other."

Let us now turn from the character of the art on these monuments to another, perhaps an even more effective, argument. The principal crosses we are dealing with are inscribed; they not only have the names of well-known kings and saints upon them, but also have whole sentences, and in one case a large section of a fine poem. First, in regard to the names. It must be remembered that to the early Norman conquerors the history of their predecessors and their literature in the vernacular was not only inaccessible but hateful. The Anglo-Saxon kings and saints were no heroes to them. They did not know their names except in two or three conspicuous cases, and they cared nothing about their deeds. So far did this extend that in the case of a majority of the churches the dedications were changed from those of Saxon saints to other saints especially favoured by the Normans, and so far as we can see, the change effected by the Conquest of 1066 was as far-reaching and complete in England as the French Revolution was when it replaced the ancient régime.

How is it, then, that on these crosses not a single Norman name occurs, either of prince or priest or saint, not one? They are all Anglian names.

Not only so, but the great bulk of them are names of more or less obscure persons who had entirely passed out of living memory and whose very existence has only been rediscovered in modern times. How could it enter the imagination of any man, however fantastic, to suppose that in the twelfth century wealthy Norman chiefs or churchmen (only men of wealth could have paid for such monuments) were urged by an afflatus for commemorating in this magnificent fashion a whole bevy of

people who had passed away several centuries before, and were no longer remembered by any one?

Again, these names and inscriptions are written in two forms of script, some of them in runic characters and some in Roman minuscules. Who that has any knowledge of our history could suppose that inscriptions could have been written at all in English *runes* in England in the twelfth century; *a fortiori*, inscriptions written so accurately? The only instance of runes known to me in England from so late a date as the twelfth century is that of the inscription on the font at Bride Kirk, which is situated in a very Scandinavian part of England. The runes on this inscription, however, are not English runes at all, but Scandinavian ones, and have nothing to do with the runes on the crosses. The whole notion can only have occurred to one unfamiliar with the history of our monuments. The forms of the Roman letters also used in the inscriptions are just as inconsistent with their belonging to the twelfth century as the runes, for they are written in Irish minuscules quite unknown to Norman scribes.

Thirdly, in regard to the inscriptions other than names, and especially the poetry. Who was there in the twelfth century who could have written the Northumbrian tongue in this fashion so accurately and, as we have seen, in so early a form? Who, again, was to read it when written?—it was quite obsolete at that date and long before that date. What purpose, what motive could have induced these Normans to set up in out-of-the-way villages and in mountain graveyards these most costly monuments in memory of forgotten people and in a speech which no one could read?

The fact is that, instead of setting up crosses in this fashion and taste, the early Normans ruthlessly destroyed them, in their widespread efforts, which were especially potent in the twelfth century, to replace the more or less humble Anglian churches by the great Norman minsters and parish churches of the twelfth century which especially abound in our land.

On this matter my acute friend (who did so much for the illustration of early art in these realms), Romilly Allen, wrote: “The Normans showed but little respect for the sepulchral monuments of their Celtic and Saxon predecessors, and when about to erect a church or cathedral the first thing they did was to break up all the crosses which were on or near the site and use them as wall-stones.”¹

¹ *Vict. Hist. of Northamptonshire*, ii. 191, note.

These historical considerations seem to me to be entirely conclusive, and to be much more weighty than any but the clearest archaeological testimony. Now it happens that Professor Cook's dating of the ornamentation on these crosses is quite impossible. Professor C. Balfour Brown, in his answer to his contention that they belong to the twelfth century, says "It might more easily present itself to one who regards these crosses as isolated objects, than to those who know them as they really are, only the most elaborate and beautiful of a series of monuments similar in kind, the number of which must run into the thousands, for there are no fewer than five hundred in Yorkshire alone. . . . Professor Cook takes no note of the fact that a good many of the stones have come to light in a fragmentary condition, used as building material in mediæval walls, some of which are of pre-Conquest date."¹ As one example out of many, Professor Brown cites the case of the west wall of the church of Kirkdale, in Yorkshire, which is dated by the famous inscribed sun-dial to within a year or two of 1060 A.D. This had built into it, low down, a beautiful tomb slab with characteristic foliage scroll-work of the Anglian type. On some of Professor Cook's judgments on archaeology which led him to put the crosses into the twelfth century, Professor Brown has some useful comments. Thus in regard to the representation of the Baptist and the *Agnus Dei*, of which Professor Cook writes that it cannot, according to indication, be earlier than the twelfth century, his critic reminds him that in another passage he had himself mentioned an early monument, probably of the sixth century, the ivory chair of Maximian at Ravenna, on which the principal figure is a John the Baptist with a lamb of the very type found on the crosses. In regard to the representation of the Annunciation and the Visitation, Dr. Stuhlfauth has specially emphasised the fact (as confirmatory of the early date of the Ruthwell cross) that the primitive Syro-Palestinian type of the Annunciation with the standing Mary makes its appearance on that monument; while the Visitation occurs on the golden medallions from Adana at Constantinople, published by Dr. Strzygofski, and which are of the sixth and seventh century, and is also represented on the chair of Maximian. The flight into Egypt, says Professor Brown, which according to Professor Cook does not appear in Christian art till the tenth or eleventh century, occurs in these medallions in a form that reminds us curiously of the relief on

¹ *Burlington Magazine*, vol. xxiii. p. 44.

the Ruthwell cross, with the tree that is placed above the head of the ass.¹ It also occurs at St. Maria Maggiore.² The Christ which occurs in the scene of the washing of the feet of Christ by the woman of Samaria on the Ruthwell cross is very like the glorified Christ on both the great western crosses, and is an early type. In reply to the American Professor's remark about the representation of the Crucifixion which occurs on the Ruthwell cross, and which he says is first found in a seventh-century Roman painting, Professor Brown reminds him that he has overlooked its representation on the wooden doors of St. Sabina at Rome, and on a British Museum ivory, both of the fifth century; and in both cases the Saviour is shown lightly clad, as on the Ruthwell cross. This Christ in the attitude of benediction also occurs on the wooden coffin of St. Cuthbert at Durham. Lastly, in regard to the royal falconer, "who is represented on the Ruthwell cross wearing long hair. Everybody," says Professor Brown, "knows that the Normans cut their hair short like priests, and their heads were shaven at the back, as is shown on the Bayeux tapestry, while the Saxons were characterised by an ample *chevelure*."³

Summing up the results of his analysis, Professor Brown says that "An examination of Professor Cook's critique on the carving of the crosses leads to exactly the opposite result to that he aimed at, as it tends to confirm the view of their early date, and at any rate to place them convincingly in the Saxon period. . . . The single fact that in all the foliage of the two crosses there is nowhere a trace of the classical acanthus seems almost to force one to place them earlier than the Carlovingian renaissance."⁴

I do not propose to say another word about this twelfth-century delusion. Let us now turn to pre-Conquest days. Here, again, we can divide English history into two notable sections, separated by great race-changes and otherwise.

During the ninth century England was persistently invaded and harassed by the most cruel invasion which ever tormented it, namely, the Danes and Norsemen. They destroyed nearly all the monasteries in the country and a large part of the churches, and for one hundred years the poverty-stricken and impoverished country could build no fresh ones, so that there is a great hiatus of a whole century in English art during the ninth century.

¹ *Burlington Magazine*, xxiii. 44.

² Circa 435; Lethaby, *Burlington Magazine*, xxiii. 49.

³ *Ib.* 43-45.

⁴ *Ib.* 45.

Especially was this destruction felt in its richest and most flourishing part, namely, Northumbria, where the pagan piratical invaders displaced the older landowners and divided the land among them. Christianity was really only restored there after the baptism of Canute. Between the accession of Canute and the Norman Conquest there was a certain renaissance of English art. Churches were again built, some on a larger and more ornamented scale than before, and crosses were also erected. These crosses, however, were decorated with a different kind of ornament to those existing on the crosses we are discussing.

Apart from this, the inscriptions on the latter are quite inconsistent with their having belonged to the post-Danish conquest. The runes that are found on the later crosses belong to another type of rune, namely, that which prevailed in Scandinavia, as we should expect from their Danish origin, and are not of the English type such as we find on the Bewcastle and other similar crosses. The language on the latter series of crosses is also quite inconsistent with their being post-Danish. It is pure Northumbrian of an early type, and contains neither Danish words nor traces of Danish syntax such as occur on the later crosses, when the speech of Yorkshire had become Dano-English. The names recorded on the older crosses, again, are purely English names written in their Northumbrian form ; not one of them is a Danish name, and, as I have said, many of them are names of obscure persons and not the least likely to have been commemorated on monuments by the Danish landowners of Yorkshire in the tenth and eleventh century, who were separated completely in tradition from the older men, not only by their belonging to another race but by the hundred years of restored paganism.

All this was apparently unknown to Dr. Sophus Müller, a deservedly high authority on Danish antiquities, but with no special or direct knowledge of our archaeology and, what is also much more important, ignorant also of our history. In a work entitled *Dyre ornamentikken i Norden*, published at Copenhagen in 1880, he dates our crosses not earlier than the year 1000, on the astonishing ground that their decoration belongs to the late Carlovingian period, with which it has in fact no connection whatever, in style or otherwise. Nothing can be plainer than that none of the crosses of the type we are discussing have anything to do with the ninth, tenth, or eleventh centuries. Thus by a process of exhaustion we are obliged



THE FIGURE OF THE SAVIOUR ON THE RUSHWORTH AND BEWCASLE
CROSSES, SHOWING THE SAME TREATMENT.

to treat the close of the eighth century as the *terminus ad quem* of our journey.

Let us therefore turn to the earliest period of Northumbrian Christian history, and especially to that which intervened between the advent of the Celtic monks under Aidan in the seventh century and year 800. Here we have a different story to tell. All the reasons which I have quoted as conclusively proving the impossibility of these crosses having been erected later than the year 800, converge upon the probability, or rather certainty, that they were erected before the year 800. The runic letters on them belong to that period, the language on them is exactly of that period, the known names on them are all of persons who lived at that period, and the poetry which occurs on the finest of them was, as we have seen, composed by a Northumbrian poet who lived in that period ; nor do I know of a single fact or argument that is opposed to that conclusion except arguments drawn from *a priori* and subjective considerations, and which are all full of stupendous difficulties. I shall take it for granted, therefore, that the crosses we are discussing were erected in the seventh or eighth century. If we concede this we must reasonably further insist that they were erected during the lifetime or very soon after the death of those commemorated upon them or bearing their names. It is mere arbitrary wilfulness to discard this evidence without some kind of reason. So far as I know there is no assignable reason which can be supported by argument in favour of dating these crosses at any other period than that attested by the names occurring on them and by all the other facts we know about them. Let me quote two instances drawn from some of the biggest and most important of these crosses.

First, that at Bewcastle, with which the Ruthwell cross is closely associated. As we saw, this cross is expressly dated in the first year of the reign of King Ecgfrid—that is, in the year 670, and I have no doubt whatever that it was erected in that year.

The second of these monuments which I would mention is Trumwine's cross at Abercorn. Trumwine was appointed Bishop of the Picts at Abercorn in the year 681. The Pictish Mission Church came to an end in 684, when Trumwine was driven away, having been the first and last Anglo-Pictish Bishop. This cross must, therefore, have been set up between 681 and 684. It is quite incredible that it could have been set

up after the latter date, when the Picts killed King Ecgfrith and put an end to the domination of the Northumbrians over their people. The last thing the Picts would have done would have been to set up a cross in honour of a Northumbrian bishop whom they had expelled.

Thirdly and lastly, I would quote Acca's cross, formerly at Hexham and now at Durham, which bears his name. His career as bishop ranges from 709 to 740.

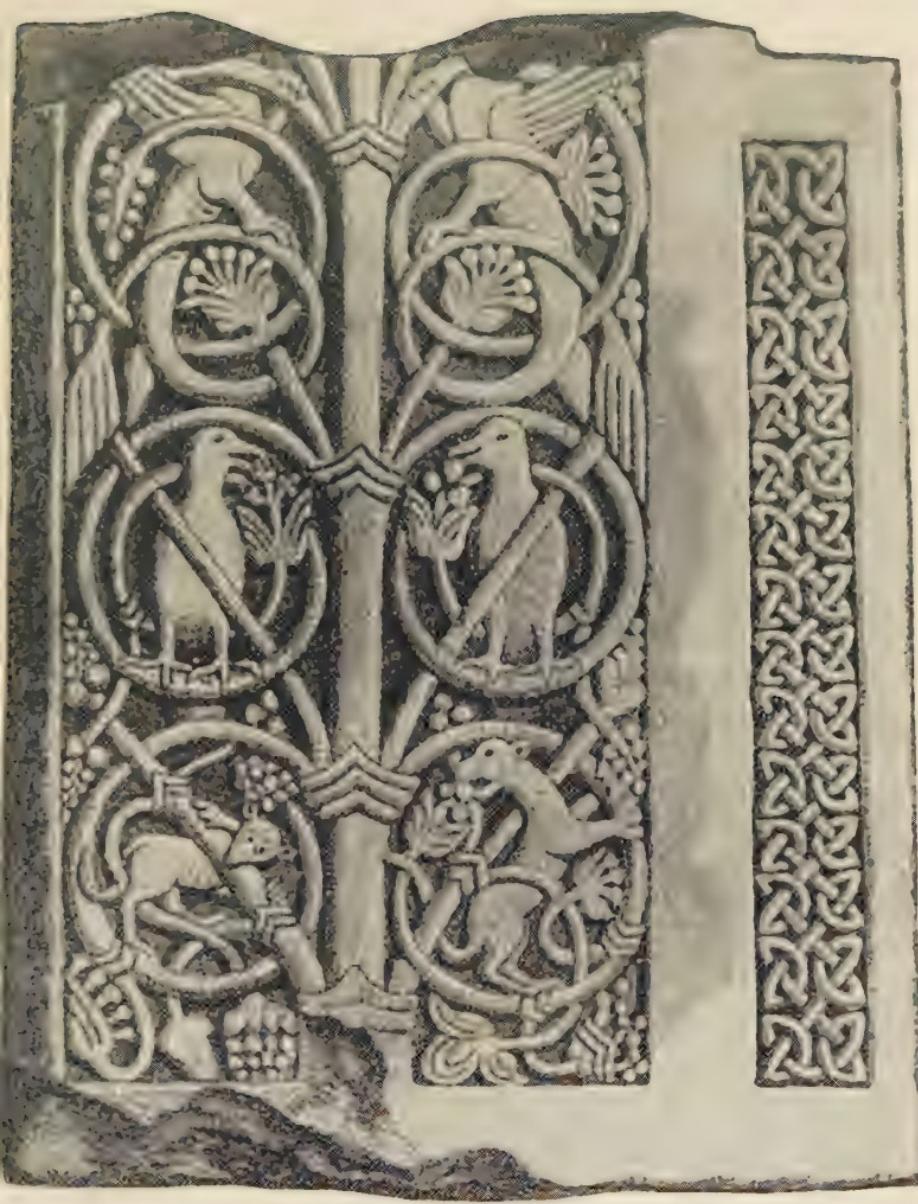
These three crosses, being among the three most important both in size and in ornamentation of all the Northumbrian ones, clearly belong to the latter part of the seventh and the very beginning of the eighth century. This is also the view of the former Slade Professor, my friend Sir Martin Conway, who says of the two great Western crosses: "For me they belong to the late seventh or early eighth century and nowhere else—late Celtic for choice."¹ So far as we know, they are among the very earliest of these crosses, and it is no doubt a notable fact and one to be carefully remembered, that being very early examples they yet offer us specimens of the very highest and most tasteful decoration which occurs on this type of cross. There is no sign whatever of immaturity or of a prentice hand among them, and whoever made them and whencesoever they came the artificers were very skilled workmen as well as artists, and must somewhere have had some excellent models.

The next question that arises is, who were these artists and whence did they come? The question is a very difficult one to answer. We may, however, by a process of exclusion limit the problem considerably.

It is perfectly plain that these crosses and the ornaments they bear were not developed out of anything previously existing in these islands. Nothing like them is to be found at an earlier date either in England, Ireland, or Scotland, and yet they appear here not in an immature and elementary form, but in full-blown beauty, the earliest ones being the most perfect, most beautiful, and most important from their size and distinction. It is equally plain that we can find nothing like them in the West of Europe. They are non-existent in Germany, France, or south of the Pyrenees, notably in France, whence so much of our early artistic work, our buildings, church furniture, plate, etc., were derived.

Italy at this time was a land of desolation and decrepitude.

¹ *Burlington Magazine*, vol. xxiv. pp. 85 and 86.



PORTION OF A CROSS FOUND AT JEDBURGH.

From Stuart's *Monumental Stones of Scotland*. To be compared with the Bewcastle Cross and the Fragments at Hexham.

Goths, Vandals, and the early Lombards had trampled upon it in all directions, and such times were not consistent with the rise or development of a kind of ornament both strong and artistic. On the other hand, the Lombards were still in their barbarous condition, only recently converted to orthodoxy, and had not yet developed their architectural skill of a later time.

It is plain, in fact, that the only parts of Italy where the arts maintained a certain lethargic and crystallised form were those immediately influenced by Byzantium through its colony at Ravenna, or which had spread at second hand thence. Some people have suggested as possible that Ravenna may have been the source of the art of the great Northumbrian crosses. I cannot for a moment accept this. The art which most of us know well and which flourished at Ravenna was attractive and original in its aims and products, but it had, so far as I can see, no *direct* connection with that displayed on these crosses. The figures and the interlaced tracery of vines with small animals among the branches are differently treated to anything known to me at Ravenna, nor can we well see what could induce any artists or patrons of art to come hither from Ravenna, whose Archbishop and whose people, although orthodox, were on bad terms with the ecclesiastical authorities at Rome, and were very seclusive. At this time, again, in Ravenna they were shut off from intercourse with the West by the unruly Lombards and many other difficulties, and we have no evidence that they were in communication with the West.

We are driven, therefore, to seek for our explanation farther afield, however difficult the process may at first sight appear. There can be no doubt that when the Mohammedans made their terrible onslaught on the Empire in the time of Heraclius and his family the areas where the arts were most flourishing and perhaps most fresh and living were Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt. In regard to the former districts our eyes have been immensely opened of late years, and we have been shown how there had been a renaissance there in the times succeeding the great Constantine, which had produced a very decided advance in the methods of building in which architectural and mechanical processes and developments had taken place, resembling in a measure the similar movement we call the Italian renaissance.

This was accompanied by a similar growth in the style of ornament which we find so largely developed in the minor

elements of the churches' furniture, such as the sarcophagi, etc. Like other similar movements, this was doubtless not a spontaneous growth, but the result of a graft and of fresh ideas, in this case from the very flourishing and artistically remarkable Sassanian Empire. The combination of this with the traditions of Old Rome produced especially in Asia Minor and Syria a new kind of artistic growth which has been much illustrated by the researches of Strzygofski and Miss Bell.

A contemporary and similar development was meanwhile taking place among the Christian Copts of Egypt, which has been a revelation to us all, and has been especially illustrated by my friend Mr. Somers Clarke and others. It is in these areas, and these only so far as my knowledge goes, that the kind of decorative art which occurs in the early Northern crosses is to be found, and especially is this so in the Coptic remains, which have been attracting more and more attention of late years and of which some attractive samples have found their way to this country recently. The first temptation among many people will be to treat this provenance for our seventh-century Northern art as in a measure a fantastic notion, but some consideration may perhaps modify this view, especially as by a process of exhaustion it seems impossible to solve the paradox in any other way.

In the first place, then, we must remember that the seventh century was the great era of the primitive monks and anchorites, who were then seized with an indescribable fervour for the monastic life. The result was to break down all kinds of geographical boundaries and frontiers, and to create a cosmopolitanism among the recluses which was amazing. A feeling of brotherhood and kinship pervaded them all, whatever their complexion, their speech, or their blood. Especially cosmopolitan were the Irish Columban clergy; some in search of solitude, others in search of learning, seem to have found their way into every corner of Central Europe—as far as Iceland and perhaps Norway in the North, and as far as the recesses of the Apennines in Italy and of the Alpine country, while France was dotted with their settlements.

It must be remembered that to these primitive monks and hermits the Mecca and focus of their craft and profession was Egypt, in the sandy wastes of which there were vast numbers of them in large communities, who there developed not only their special forms of asceticism, but also their forms of learning,

and who bestrewed the land with great monasteries and many churches of a most interesting type both in design and ornament.

Again, it must be remembered that it was in the seventh century the Mohammedan Arabs overwhelmed the countries we are referring to and largely destroyed their religious life, and scattered their monks and clergy in various directions. The result was the flooding of the Italian peninsula and Sicily with Greek monks and priests; Greek monasteries sprang up there, even in Rome, and Greek ecclesiastics made their way to the higher offices in the Church, being doubtless patronised and supported by the great Emperor and his officials. It is a most noteworthy fact that at this time quite a number of Greeks in succession became Popes, and so far as we can discover introduced a good many changes into the cults and ritual of the Latin Church.

It was not only Italy where this took place, but in far-off Britain, where Rome had its own specially cherished mission. We had a Greek in the Metropolitan see at Canterbury, and another Greek at the head of the senior English monastery, that of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, and we further know that here and in Ireland there was a special fervour for studying Greek at this time unmatched elsewhere in Europe, and virtually unknown in Gaul. There was also a constant moving to and fro of students and scholars in search of fresh methods of learning and teaching. Nuns rivalled monks in their pursuit of knowledge and their aptitude at composing classical verses.

Meanwhile the fashion for travel was stimulated by the desire of visiting Rome, the Western capital of Christendom, and Jerusalem, the birthplace of the Faith. All this was very especially the case in these realms, and notably in Ireland. We cannot doubt that among these pilgrims and travellers there must have been some who brought back visions of the fine churches and fine services they had noticed, and brought back, too, patterns and samples of the artistic work they had seen.

It is not so wonderful, therefore, that at this time the renascent style of ornament which had grown up in the rich and prosperous lands of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, and been especially cultivated by the provincial inhabitants of those Roman provinces, should have found their way to Britain. It is noteworthy that it came not to the South of England, where such remains are virtually not found, but to the North, where the ecclesiastical movement was so full of life, and

where it was especially cherished by the clergy of the Irish mission, who founded the famous school of Neo-Celtic art at Lindisfarne.

It is noteworthy, too, that some of the very finest and earliest of the crosses we are discussing have been found not in the eastern parts of the Northumbrian land but in the lands bordering the Solway Firth, where we have evidence that there was a port at which there was much commerce not only with Ireland but with the Continent, namely, Ravenglas. All this converges on the probability that the crosses we are discussing had their inspiration in the Coptic art of Egypt or the Neo-Roman art of Syria and the prosperous lands of Asia Minor.

The view here expressed, that the art of the earliest Anglian crosses came from Egypt and Syria, was reached independently by myself, and it was only after the previous remarks were written that I was greatly pleased to find that I had the support of greater authorities than myself, and notably my distinguished friends, Dalton and Lethaby. Dalton unhesitatingly attributes the crosses to the seventh century. In regard to the sculptures on them, he says on page 103 of his *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*: "Reasons are advanced elsewhere (p. 236) for the belief that this really remarkable sculpture, which decayed almost as suddenly as it arose, must have been inspired from foreign (East Christian) sources."

Turning to the reference here made on page 236, Mr. Dalton, speaking of the sculpture on the Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses, says: "It appears very suddenly and decays with great rapidity; its rise and fall are those of an exotic art which flourishes during the persistence of exceptional conditions but is unable to maintain itself when they are withdrawn. The half-figure of Christ at Rothbury, not a hundred years later than the Bewcastle cross, shows all the symptoms of decadence, the staring eyes, the elongated lips, the drapery channelled rather than modelled, are all evidence of a growing incapacity. . . . With the crosses of Aycliffe and Ilkley, and the fragment from Gainford, the decay is complete: the human figures have almost shrunk to conventional hieroglyphs without pretence to natural truth. It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that this meteoric appearance of a monumental sculpture in Northumbria must be ascribed to external influence. To the question from what quarter this influence proceeded there is only one probable answer: it must in the first instance have come from the east of the Mediter-

ranean. Neither in Ireland, nor in the Frankish dominions, nor in Italy do we know any sculpture at all comparable with this, or any art in which the human figure is treated with greater ability.”¹

Let me now turn to Professor Lethaby, who has written so ably on these crosses. He points out that a sculpture which has a striking resemblance to the figures on our crosses is illustrated by Mr. Dalton in his Figure 85. This is Coptic. Speaking of the braided patterns on the Bewcastle cross, he derives them from Coptic sources, and he quotes Dalton as attributing “the diagonal key pattern” or “skew fret” on these same crosses to Eastern sources, while he himself derives it from Coptic textiles or manuscripts such as the Book of Durrow and in the Lindisfarne gospels, “Unless,” he adds, “as I believe is probable, Eastern artists themselves brought their traditions.” He similarly attributes the foliage pattern on the Bewcastle cross where the scrolls interlace to Coptic prototypes,² and he concludes: “I am entirely satisfied that the Ruthwell cross is a seventh-century monument, and I believe that its art types were derived from Coptic sources.”³

Another piece of notable evidence in this behalf is to be found in the very singular fact that among the unusual incidents figured on the Ruthwell cross one represents the meeting of the two anchorites Paul and Anthony in the Egyptian desert.⁴

Another proof of the early date of these crosses is deducible from the forms of the letters in which the inscriptions which are not written in runes are set out. On this Mr. Lethaby has some very useful remarks. He says the pure alphabet in which the Latin inscriptions are written is in an Irish form of script. They resemble those on the early grave slabs found at Hartlepool, and are of an entirely different character to the inscribed dedication-stone of the church at Jarrow, a work of the Roman school. The Ruthwell inscription is certainly in the Celtic tradition.⁵ On the same subject, Mr. Lethaby writes elsewhere:—

“At my suggestion, Miss D. Moxon, of the Royal College of Art, made some time ago a close study of the alphabet of the Latin inscription, and this she allows me to reproduce. . . .

¹ *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 236.

² See Dalton, Figure 27 and Figures 22, 23, 24, and 25 for single scrolls.

³ *Burlington Magazine*, vol. xxi. p. 146.

⁴ See Lethaby, *Arch. Journal*, lxx. 145 and 146.

⁵ *Ib.* 147.

There can be no doubt that the result gives us a semi-Irish hand such as was in use in Northumbria about the year 700. The X, for instance, is like the famous great X of the Book of Kells. . . . I would point out one rather remarkable coincidence regarding the contractions I H S. X P S. On the Ruthwell cross the Greek H is improperly represented by the letter h. Now on the Gospels from Bobbio in the National Library at Turin the letters are rendered in exactly the same way, I h S.¹ Again he says: "A curious form of & occurs on the Ruthwell cross, and a somewhat similar symbol for it is common in Saxon and Irish MSS., including the Book of Kells."² In a later paper Mr. Lethaby adds: "I should now like to make the correction that the sign for & is much more like that found in Irish MSS. than was shown. . . . A similar symbol is found on the Welsh cross at Caldey Island, and on a Cornish cross at Lauherne."³

Turning from the inscriptions in Romano-Irish letters to those written in runes, about which there has also been some mystification, the evidence seems to me to entirely confirm the other facts here adduced. In the first place, it is a strong argument in favour of the early date for the Ruthwell cross that so long an inscription should have been written at all in runes and not in Roman letters, which superseded them at an early date even on the crosses. The runes used in this country were of two series, an early series known as English runes and a later one which was especially developed in Scandinavia and was used in England by the Danes and Norwegians of a later date. They differ from each other in details rather than substantially. It has been argued that in the case of these crosses some of the runes point to a later date for the inscriptions than the seventh century.

That the runes on the crosses are English runes and do not belong to the Scandinavian series is beyond doubt. Long ago Dr. Duncan in his memoir on the Ruthwell cross in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, written in 1845, said: "The runes are not Danish, but Anglo-Saxon, a discovery which seems to have been made by Grimm, which establishes that the date must be sought for during the Heptarchy. . . . Repp has

¹ *Burlington Magazine*, vol. xxi. p. 145.

² *Ib.* vol. xxiii. p. 48.

³ *Arch. Journal*, vol. lxx. p. 147, note.

discovered that the runic alphabet is widely different from that employed by the Danes."

The only reasonable objections which have been made to the conclusions here urged were raised by Dr. Baldwin Brown, who otherwise agrees with the view that the crosses are of the earliest type. He says, speaking of the cross head at Ruthwell, that he has not been able to find any cross heads so like the Ruthwell example of earlier date than examples from Rothbury, Northumberland, and others built into the Norman walling of the chapter-house at Durham, and dated by their position between the years 1000 and 1083. In regard to this, Professor Lethaby says conclusively : "The cross head has been falsified in restoration; the second curve in the lower arm had no existence before the cross was broken."¹

Dr. Brown also urges that two of the runes in the inscription are of a later date. In regard to this we must remember that the Ruthwell cross inscription is by far the longest one we know written in English runes. If we exclude it we have very few inscriptions, and these short and unimportant, belonging to the earlier time extant. It would under these circumstances be very rash to base a wide induction which would be at issue with all the other evidence we possess on negative testimony. As Mr. Lethaby says : "The inscriptions are so few that a complete alphabet cannot be made up from them. Now it happens that the need for the particular runic letters which are objected to does not, I believe, occur at all in the short series, so that it is impossible to say they would not have been used."²

To this I would add that the two characters in question, answering to G and K, are  and , and neither of them occurs among the Scandinavian runes. Stephens in his vast corpus of runic inscriptions has analysed the usage of the runic characters very minutely, and tells us that among the old Northern runes, by which he means those older than the Viking times, there are only two forms of the rune for K, one  on the Ruthwell cross, and  on the Bewcastle cross, showing that the former is a mere variant. This is still more clear from the fact that on the Ruthwell cross itself  also occurs as a variant of the same letter.

In regard to the other rune which stands for G, I can only find it twice among the hundred inscriptions described by

¹ *Arch. Journal*, vol. lxx. p. 155.

² *Ib.* p. 156.

Stephens. On the table in vol. i. of his great work, p. 125, may be seen, however, quite a number of variants of this letter closely allied to it in form, showing that it is a mere accidental variety. It is clear, therefore, that any argument based on these two accidental runes must be a very fragile one, and hardly weighs in the balance at all compared with the mass of evidence on the other side.

This concludes my analysis of the dates of the great crosses at Bewcastle and Rushworth and Abercorn; a large series of others may be approximately dated by them, and I claim to have shown that the criticisms of foreign critics on the dates and artistic ties of these domestic monuments of ours are based on very imperfect knowledge, and do not in any way affect the otherwise conclusive date assigned to them by a whole catena of expert English antiquaries.

APPENDIX V

THE CODEX AMIATINUS OF THE BIBLE: ITS HISTORY AND IMPORTANCE

BEDF's tract on the history of the abbots of Jarrow and Wearmouth is largely based on an earlier work on the life of Abbot Ceolfrid by a monk of one of those two monasteries whose name is not recorded. Bede both epitomises and enlarges this earlier narrative, and tells us *inter alia* that Ceolfrid ruled for seven years at Jarrow and twenty-eight years over the combined monasteries. *Inter alia* the anonymous author in speaking of the abbot says:

*"Bibliothecam quam de Roma vel ipse, vel Benedictus adulterat, nobiliter ampliavit, ita ut inter alia tres Pandectes (i.e. whole Bibles) faceret describi, quorum duo per totitem sua monasteria (i.e. Jarrow and Wearmouth) posuit in aecclesis, ut cunctis qui aliquod capitulum de utrolibet testamento legere voluissent, in promptu esset invenire quod cuperent; tertium autem Romam profecturus donum beato Petro Apostolorum principi offerre decrevit."*¹

In his paraphrase of the work of the anonymous author, just quoted, Bede, referring to these codices, writes : " *Bibliothecam utriusque monasterii quam Benedictus Abbas magna caepit instantia, ipse non minori geminavit industria; ita ut tres pandectes novae translationis, ad unum vetustae translationis quem de Roma adulterat ipse super adjungeret; quorum unum senex Romam rediens secum inter alia pro munere sumpsit, duos utriusque monasterio reliquit.*"²

This statement seems very plain, and yet it is full of ambiguity.

About 716 Ceolfrid resigned his abbacy, being then an old man of seventy-four, and determined to go on a pilgrimage (*apostolorum limina peregrinaturus adiret*).³ He took with him a letter of commendation to the Pope from his successor Abbot Hwætberht, with certain gifts. Before he reached Rome he

¹ Plummer's *Bede*, i. 395.

² Plummer, i. 379.

³ *Ib.* i. 395.

fell ill, and died on 25th September 716. This was at Langres (Lingones), where he was buried.¹ Of his companions some returned home and some went on to Rome taking with them the gifts he had sent (*delatura munera quae miserat*).² Among them was the *Pandectes interpretatione beati Hieronymi presbiteri ex Hebraeo et Greco fonte transfusus* just cited. This pandect, as is well known, has survived the dangers of more than twelve hundred years, and is extant in a very perfect condition. It has been identified by an extremely interesting and ingenious inductive process with the most famous of all Latin Biblical MSS.—namely, the *Codex Amiatinus*. A short account of it will make my further argument clearer. It is now preserved in the Mediceo-Ambrosian Library at Florence, where many theological pilgrims have been to see and collate it. On the title-page of the Codex are some verses stating that it had been presented to the Monastery of Monte Amiata by a certain *Petrus Lombardorum Abbas*, who lived at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century.

The second hexameter runs thus :

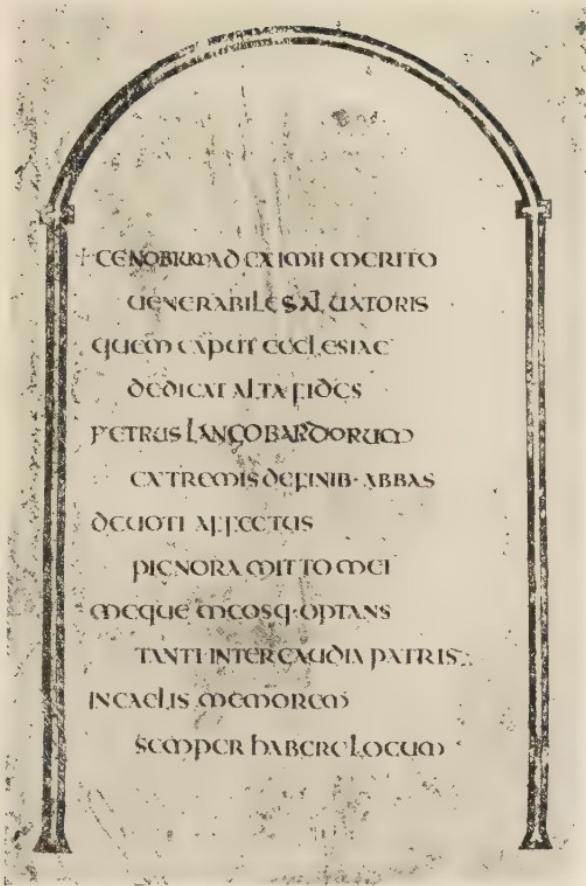
“Petrus Longobardorum extremis de finibus abbas.”

The famous Italian scholar De Rossi showed in 1886 that the name and style of the Lombard abbot in the dedicatory verses were written over erasures, and that the name “Petrus” had been altered from “Ceolfrid,” the word “abbas” doing duty for both names, while the words “corpus Petri” in the first line had been changed to “Coenobium St. Salvatoris.” This was a clear proof that the original dedication had been made by Abbot Ceolfrid. He further suggested that the word “Longobardorum” had been substituted for that of “Briton.” Bishop Forest Browne pointed out the objections to this last suggestion, namely, that the line as corrected did not scan, and, secondly, that it was virtually impossible for a Northumbrian in the eighth century to speak of himself as a Briton. In his opinion the second word should be “Anglorum,” a view afterwards shown to be correct.—*London Guardian*, March 2, 1887.

Soon after, Dr. Hort, writing in the *Academy* of 26th February 1887, was further able to show that in the anonymous Life of Ceolfrid already cited, the publication of which by Stevenson in 1841 had apparently been overlooked abroad, there occur

¹ Plummer, i. 385 and 402.

² Anon. *Life of Ceolfrid*, ib. 400 and 402.



DEDICATION OF THE *CODEX AMIATINUS* AS IT
NOW READS.

[Vol. III., facing p. 322.]

certain verses in which Ceolfrid's name was enshrined. These, Dr. Hort showed, were the very verses in which Ceolfrid dedicated the pandect he took to Rome as a present to the Pope, and which also occur in the *Codex Amiatinus*. The verses as reported in the anonymous Life are :

“*Cörper ad eximii merito venerabile Petri
Dedicat aecclesiae quem caput alta fides
Ceolfridus Anglorum extremis de finibus abbas
Devoti affectus pignora mitto mei.
Meque meosque optans tanti inter gaudia patris
In caelis memorem semper habere locum.*”

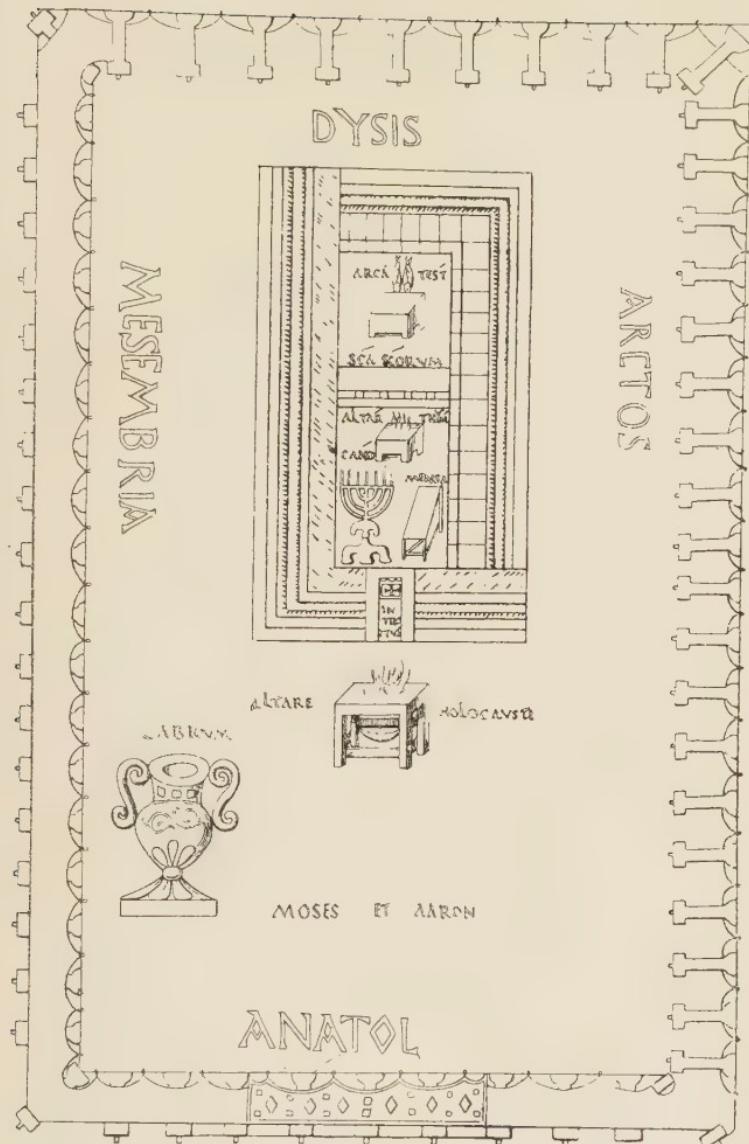
Inasmuch as the circumstances, the date of the script, etc., concurred to support this view, it was at once and everywhere accepted. The whole story is told with admirable lucidity in Mr. H. J. White's Memoir on the MS. in the second volume of *Studia Biblia*. This discovery at once greatly enhanced the value of the *Amiatinus Codex*, which was thus proved to be certainly not later than the year 716. This was not the end of the matter, however, as a more careful and critical examination of the MS. showed that it was not homogeneous, but that the first quaternion is markedly different from the rest, and the parchment on which it is written is not quite so tall as that of the other gatherings, and is darker and thicker. Further, this gathering is not signed, and the second quaternion, beginning the Bible text itself, is marked 1. Lastly, the writing of the lists and prefatory matter in the first quaternion is in a different hand from that of the body of the book, all going to show that that section and the rest of the volume came from two different sources.

Mr. White has given a syllabus of the contents of this quaternion which is instructive. He tells us fol. 1 is blank ; 1b has the dedicatory verses already cited ; 2 is blank ; 2b and 3 contain a large bird's-eye view of the Tabernacle ; 3b is blank ; 4 contains a prologue to the contents of the MS. ; 4b contains a list of the books in the Amiatine MS. arranged to suit two volumes, with certain hexameter lines below ; fol. 5 has a picture of Ezra seated at his desk with a bookcase close by ; 5b is blank ; 6 contains a list of the Bible books according to Jerome, with a sacred lamb, etc., above ; 7 has another and different list of the sacred books underneath the head of a monk ; 7b is stained yellow, and has a number of circles drawn on it ; 8 contains the Bible books according to St. Augustine, and also a picture of a dove with spread wings surrounded by

flames, with two fillets from which hang the six divisions of the sacred books; 8 δ is blank. Bishop Browne treats this folio as an outside. He also observes that fol. 6 must at one time have been next to fol. 8, since part of the couplet at the top of the latter can be read on the face of fol. 6 b , a considerable part of the couplet having been impressed in reverse upon it. This is due to the fact that this entry, unlike any other in the MS., is formed by a profusion of thick black pigment, which has been silvered, and has the air of an insertion. If the quaternion were arranged properly, from the nature of the case, the "temple" must have been the innermost sheet. The donation with the Augustinian division of Scripture has naturally been the innermost. The Ezra portion with the Hieronymian division would then be 2 and 7; the prologue and the contents of the codex, the Hilarion division, and the contents of the Pentateuch, which are now separate pages, would be 3 and 6.—*London Guardian*, April 29, 1887, p. 651.

Professor Corssen and Mr. White have both written about the contents of this quaternion and have greatly illustrated it, but the last word has still to be said. I would urge in regard to the first leaf with its dedicatory verses that it has nothing to do with any other part of the MS., but was entirely supplied by Ceolfrid himself, who wrote the verses. The 4th folio, again, which is stained on both sides with a fine purple while the writing is on a yellow ground (doubtless to simulate gold) is arranged in tables within a double arch of twisted-rope pattern, and contains the prologue and the list of books in the succeeding codex. This was once, no doubt, as Professor Corssen suggests, an integral part of the Amiatinus volume, forming probably its initial pages. There are some slight discrepancies between the prologue and the contents of the book, which is also the case with the temple of contents. On this Bishop Browne says: "It will be found on counting the books recited that they are thirty-six. Adding one each for 2 Samuel, 2 Kings, 2 Chronicles, and 2 Esdras, we obtain seventy, the number of the prologue. On the other hand, the codex actually contains seventy-one, Jeremiah and Lamentations being represented in the contents as 'Hosemias.' Thus the discrepancies may not be real."

The rest of the folios in the first quaternion—namely, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8—had nothing whatever to do originally with the succeeding codex and have been transplanted from another MS. They were probably added to this one by Ceolfrid



PLAN OF THE JEWISH TABERNACLE FROM THE
CODEX AMIATINUS.

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to give his present to the Pope a grander and more sumptuous appearance. The Codex is quite complete without these additions.

It is plain, therefore, that the first quaternion of the *Codex Amiatinus*, with the exception of fol. 4, had nothing to do with the MS. as originally written, that fol. 1 was the composition of Ceolfrid himself, and that the other folios formed a transported boulder from some other MS.

Let us now turn to the boulder in question, i.e. folios 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8 of quaternion 1. Whence did it come? It had already been noticed by Dr. Corssen in 1883 that one of the pictures in the 2nd and 3rd folios of the *Codex Amiatinus*—namely, that of the Tabernacle—was also mentioned by Cassiodorus as contained in a codex in his library which was called by him the “*Codex Grandior*.” Cassiodorus thus speaks of it: “*tabernaculum templumque Domini . . . quae depicta subtiliter lineamentis propriis in Pandecte Latino corporis grandioris.*”¹ Bishop Browne says that in his comments on Psalm xiv. 1 Cassiodorus writes: “*Quas nos fecimus frugi, et in pandectes collocari.*”—*London Guardian*, April 1887, p. 652.

Cassiodorus elsewhere describes the contents of this *Pandectes Grandior*, and tells us that the Latin text in it was the Old Latin version. Now, as we have seen, Bede tells us that Ceolfrid, or Benedict Biscop, brought a pandect to Northumbria containing the Old Latin version. Dr. Hort very ingeniously carried this induction further by quoting two passages from Bede's minor works. One of these comes from his tract on the Tabernacle, ii. 12, and reads as follows: “*Quo modo in pictura Cassiodori senatoris cuius ipse in expositione Psalmorum meminit expressum vidimus*”; and again, in his tract on Solomon's Temple, ch. xvi., he says: “*Has vero porticus Cassiodorus senator in pandectis ut ipse Psalmorum ex positione commemorat triplici ordine distincta*”; adding below: “*Haec ut in pictura Cassiodori reperimus distincta.*”

As Dr. Hort says: “This is the language of a man who had actually seen with his own eyes the representation of the Tabernacle and the Temple which Cassiodorus had inserted in his pandect.”² This is not all. In the preface to his *Memoir de Institutione Divinarum Litterarum*, Cassiodorus tells us how he had withdrawn from the world and devoted himself to study, and adds: “*Indubitanter ascendamus ad divinam Scripturam per expositiones probabiles Patrum. . . . Ista est enim fortasse*

¹ *Inst.*, ch. v.

² *Vide White, op. cit. 300.*

scala Jacob per quam angeli ascendunt et descendunt. . . Quo circa si placet hunc debemus lectionis ordinem custodire ut primum tirones Christi postquam psalmos didicerent auctoritatem divinam in codicibus emendatis iugi exercitatione meditentur donec illis fiat Domino praestante notissima: ne vitia librariorum impolitis mentibus inolecant, quia difficile potest erui quod memoriae sinibus radicatum constant infigi."

The work in which these commentaries of the Fathers were abstracted or copied he describes in the first nine chapters of the *de Institutione*, each chapter being devoted to describing a single codex. The whole work consisted of nine codices or volumes. These codices were respectively headed: Caput I. *Primus Scripturarum divinarum codex est Octateuchus*; C. II. *In Secundo Regum codice*; C. III. *Ex omni igitur Prophetarum codice tertio*; C. IV. *Sequitur Psalterium codex quartus*; C. V. *Quintus codex est Salomonis*; C. VI. *Sequitur Hagiographorum codex sextus*; C. VII. *Septimus igitur codex . . . quatuor Evangelistarum superna luce resplendet*; C. VIII. *Octavus codex Canonicas Epistolas continet Apostolorum*; C. IX. *Igitur codex Actus Apostolorum ut Apocalypsin noscitur continere.*¹

On turning to the first quaternion of the *Codex Amiatinus*—which, as we have seen, was in the main transferred from the *Codex Grandior* of Cassiodorus—and especially to the picture there contained of Ezra in his cell, we shall find a representation of a bookcase containing nine large volumes, each one labelled. The labels in question, as Corssen was the first to point out, correspond with one exception to the titles here referred to. They are Oct. lib. Hest. lib. Psal. lib. Sal. Prof. Evangel IIII. Epist. op. XXI. Act. Ap. Apoca. The one mistake is due, no doubt, to the artist, who instead of Hagi has written Hest.

There cannot be any reasonable doubt that the picture of the bookcase and its contents was either directly copied from the original MS. of Cassiodorus or formed part of that MS.

It is *prima facie* nearly certain that the latter alternative is the right one, and that the MS. from which the greater part of the first quaternion of the *Codex Amiatinus* was derived was the actual original *Codex Grandior* of Cassiodorus; otherwise, Bede's language about his having himself seen that Codex is unintelligible. At the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century the so-called Vulgate text of Jerome had

¹ White, *op. cit.* 291.



EZRA COMPOSING HIS EDITION OF THE BIBLE FROM THE
CODEX AMIATINUS.

[Vol. III., facing p. 326.

supplanted its predecessor, generally known as the *Vetus Latina* and sometimes as the *Itala*, which had become obsolete.¹ It would therefore be of only remote interest to its Italian custodians, who had themselves become poor judges of such matters, for Italy was then terribly troubled by the Lombards and other invaders, and they would be willing to part with it to a rich Northern traveller anxiously in search for MSS. for his new monastery. The fact of Jerome's text having become so widely recognised would, we cannot doubt, make it very unlikely that the same Northern traveller would have a new copy made of the older version on this grand scale. Again, both writing and designs in the first quaternion are so Italian in style and so different to anything English written at this time, that it seems conclusive if it was a copy, and not an original, that it was copied in Italy. I think some of Mr. White's hesitation in the matter is a little strained, and I agree with the paragraph in which he argues that the first quaternion was bodily transferred from the actual *Codex Grandior* to its present place. "The *Codex Grandior* was certainly," he says, "in North Britain, for Bede saw it there." It may well have been the *Pandectes vetustae translationis* which Benedict Biscop or Ceolfrid brought from Rome, and it would be quite in keeping with the times that Ceolfrid, in presenting his magnificent new pandect to the Holy See, should have tacked to it the quaternion, which had hitherto stood at the beginning of Cassiodorus' Old Latin pandect, and which was so handsomely decorated.

All this paragraph was in print when I met with Bishop Browne's letters in the *London Guardian*. This makes our concurrence at this point most interesting. "It appears to be supposed," he says, "that the three pandects which Ceolfrid caused to be written were all alike, and that the *Amiatinus* is one of the three copies, pictures and all. An examination of the ornamental part leads to a very different conclusion, namely, that at least the Ezra pictures and the Solomon's temple, which is in fact the Tabernacle in full detail, are not copies made in England but the original pictures of Cassiodorus."

The question still remains as to the time when the Codex

¹ It seems incredible that the copy of the *Vetus Latina* which we know Benedict brought to Jarrow would be a new codex. That translation was then obsolete and of no special interest to anyone except an advanced scholar, and would be a very costly and difficult text to translate for merely archaeological purposes.

came to England. The Life of Ceolfrid says that it was he who brought it here from Rome. Now the only visit which we know Ceolfrid paid to Italy was in 678,¹ when he accompanied his patron and friend, Benedict Biscop, thither. This we learn from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, iv. 18, where he says: "Cum enim idem Benedictus construxisset monasterium Britanniae in honorem beatissimi apostolorum principis, juxta ostium fluminis Uiri (i.e. Jarrow), venit Romam cum cooperatore ac socio ejusdem operis Ceolfrido, qui post ipsum ejusdem Monasterii abbas fuit."² On this visit (as on other visits to Italy) Benedict Biscop, as Bede tells us, brought home "innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam."

My conclusion, therefore, is, first, that Ceolfrid brought back to England the very MS. called *Codex Grandior* by Cassiodorus, and that it was from its text that Bede obtained so many of the passages which he quotes in different places from "the Old Latin," and, secondly, that it was this very MS. which was decapitated by Ceolfrid, who placed its earlier pages in front of the Codex he had had prepared for the Pope.

Let us now detach the intrusive first quaternions from the *Codex Amiatinus* and turn to the text in its original form. According to the anonymous Lives of the Abbots of Monkwearmouth and of Bede, this Codex was one of three copies which Ceolfrid had had made. The opinion widely current is that these copies were written in Northumbria. To this I entirely demur. The notion that they were written in Northumbria at this time seems to me quite incredible. The two monasteries over which Ceolfrid presided were very young. The books in their libraries, the ornaments for the churches, everything required for the ritual and service of the Church (so far as we know from the Life of Benedict Biscop), had been brought from Italy or Gaul, and the possibility of such works as these three magnificent codices being turned out of the scriptoria of the two convents *at this time* seems quite incredible. Even Dr. Hort and Mr. White, who hold this view, postulate that Ceolfrid must have brought an Italian scribe with him; but surely three enormous pandects like these, requiring parchments of very large size and quality, could never have been produced in Northumbria at this time by the hands of one scribe or of two scribes. They must have come from a practised and well-known school of writers and scribes, and such a school could only at this time have been found in South Italy. It must

¹ Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 360.

² *Ib.* i. 241.



FIGURE OF ST. MATTHEW, CLEARLY COPIED FROM THE
SIMILAR FIGURE IN THE *CODEX AMIATINUS* ON THE
PREVIOUS PAGE, FORMING THE FRONTISPICE TO HIS
GOSPEL IN THE LINDISFARNE MS.

[Vol. III., facing p. 32.]

be remembered that it is not only the size and quality of the parchment and the beauty of the writing in this MS. which are so attractive, but the accuracy and excellence of the text.

My readers will remember the plaintive language used by Bede about the very indifferent provision for manuscript writing that existed in the monasteries with which he had such close ties, and how he had himself to perform most of the drudgery of copying.

Again, if it had been produced in Northumbria we should surely have found some traces of Northumbrian art in it such as we find in what I take to be its real Northumbrian daughter—namely, the Lindisfarne Gospels, a work of much more moderate size, but teeming with that local colour from which the *Codex Amiatinus* is quite free. The text, again, of the Lindisfarne Gospels is now generally accepted as having been derived from the Amiatine MS. On this point Bishop Browne says: “There are some remarkable agreements between the first quaternions of the *Amiatinus* and the Lindisfarne Gospels. The Lindisfarne S. Matthew is Ezra pure and simple in curiously exact detail, stool and all, but the stool is ornamented with little circles in place of the classical scroll on Ezra’s stool. . . . The Canons in the two MSS. present a series of striking coincidences from the point of view of ornament and arrangement. As regards their text *Amiatinus* breaks down over VIII. and VIII. and does not find it out; Lindisfarne also misread the VIII. and wrote something wrong in the plan of X., but found it out and altered it” (*London Guardian*, April 27, 1887). Now the Lindisfarne Gospels were written for St. Cuthberht, and belonged to him. St. Cuthberht died in the year 687, so that they must have been written before that date and after Ceolfrid’s return from Italy in 678. Is it credible that these two MSS. could both have been written in the same small scriptorium during these nine years, one purely Italian in script and decoration, and the other the finest specimen of Celtic art known? I cannot believe it.

Those who claim a Northumbrian origin for the *Codex Amiatinus* tell us, as I have said, that it was written by Italian scribes. This was first suggested by Dr. Hort in the *Academy* of 26th February 1887; the view was supported by Sir E. Maunde Thompson.¹ Mr. White says that as a Roman musician was brought over to teach the English monks to sing, so an Italian scribe may well have

¹ See *Palaeography*, pp. 194 and 245.

come to instruct them in writing, and the Amiatinus Bible may be the work of a foreigner though written in England.¹ This solution, even if it were consistent with the difficulties to be met, leaves an important matter unresolved. If the three pandects of the New Version were copied in England some time between 687 and 716, whence was the text derived from which they were copied? I have not seen this question put by any one. The solution of Mr. White and others that the three copies were made in Northumbria compels the further conclusion that the mother MS. from which they were taken was at the time in Northumbria. If so, it is not easy to see why Ceolfrid should have gone to the great expense of having three fresh copies made on this scale; for his needs were completely satisfied when he had secured two additional copies, making three altogether—namely, one each for his two monasteries and one for the Pope. Nor have we any trace of or reference to any other copy but these three. There are other reasons which seem to me to make it difficult to believe that the three copies were made in Northumbria. The writing out of these three enormous pandects was so great a feat that if it had been accomplished by scribes in Northumbria it would in all probability have been recorded by Bede or in the anonymous Life of Ceolfrid, which merely say that Ceolfrid had the copies made, without saying where. Again, if Ceolfrid could command scribes in Northumbria capable of writing out these codices, he would assuredly, in preparing the copy for the Pope, have also prepared a suitable heading and not decapitated another fine MS. in order to procure one. It is, lastly, hard to imagine whence the quite unusually large sheets of parchment in such abundance could have been forthcoming in Britain at this time, or anywhere else north of the Alps at this time. I have therefore come to the conclusion that the three copies were not only made by Italians, but were made in Italy.

The next question is, in which part of Italy were the copies made, and where was the mother MS. whence they were taken?

Upon this problem a good deal of light has recently accumulated, going to show that not only was the mother text in question a South Italian MS., but that it was one of the texts described by Cassiodorus as in his possession. Dom Chapman has pointed out that “the arrangement of the text of the *Codex Amiatinus, per cola et commata*, after the example of

¹ *Op. cit.* 285.

St. Jerome himself, is not peculiar to this text, but its divisions seem to have been particularly well preserved in it. Now Cassiodorus had been careful as to this very point, as he tells us in his preface to the *Institutio*. Again, the word *Pandectes* as applied to the *Codex Amiatinus* both by the anonymous author of the Abbots' Lives and by Bede, is precisely the word used by Cassiodorus for a complete Bible. Thirdly, the order of the groups of books in the *Codex Amiatinus*, and in that alone among Vulgate texts, is the same as the order which was followed by Cassiodorus (a fact important to note for other reasons). It is plain that the ordering of groups and books within the groups in the *Codex Amiatinus* and by Cassiodorus is a peculiar and unique one, and that they agree in the peculiarity." As Dom Chapman again says: "The Amiatine list is a list of the books in St. Jerome's Version arranged in the same nine groups as those of the *antiqua translatio*, or *Codex Grandior*, and of the nine volumes of Cassiodorus; but the interior order of the groups is that of St. Jerome. We know that in Cassiodorus' nine volumes this was the case, as in the volume containing Solomon's works; while in that of the Epistles he certainly put those of St. Paul first and not last, as they were in the *antiqua translatio*. But the number of books is counted as seventy with that list, and not forty-nine with St. Jerome. It seems to be plain that this grouping in the text can only be due to one cause—namely, that it is derived from that of the nine volumes of Cassiodorus. In these the grouping was obviously due to the necessity of fitting the commentaries into volumes of more or less equal size. It would not have arisen independently in a codex which contained the Hieronymian Vulgate only, without the commentaries. The size, again, of the *Codex Amiatinus* is the same as that which is otherwise known as the *Codex Grandior* of Cassiodorus."¹ Without committing myself to every statement in this account, it seems to me to make the conclusion uncontested that the mother MS. of the text of the *Codex Amiatinus* was in the library of Cassiodorus in the monastery of Scyllacium in the extreme south of Italy. As we have already seen, Ceolfrid's copy of the older version also came from the same great scriptorium, and was most probably the very copy of the Old Latin version described by Cassiodorus as the *Codex Grandior*. This increases

¹ See Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, 19 and 20.

the probability that the ultimate source of both texts was the same Cassiodorian collection. We can hardly doubt, therefore, that when Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid visited Italy—very largely, no doubt, in search of MSS. and other requisites for their services and for their library—they made their way to Scyllacium, whose secluded situation protected it from the ravage which was then overtaking the rest of Italy. It was doubtless from that great manufactory of MSS. that they secured the *Codex Grandior* which they took back with them, and it was there also that they commissioned the three copies of the new translation which are mentioned by the author of Ceolfrid's biography and by Bede.

Having traced the later history of the codex presented by Ceolfrid to the Pope and known as the *Amiatinus*, a word or two may be said about the other copies given by Ceolfrid to his two monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth. Until a short time ago these codices were deemed to be irretrievably lost. A leaf from one of them, however, has been recently recovered by Canon Greenwell, and is described by Mr. Turner in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. x. 540–544. It was picked up in a bookseller's shop at Newcastle.

It has been known for some time that in the library of Lord Middleton at Wollaton, near Nottingham, there are ten leaves of a Bible which have been supposed with great probability to have belonged to this or to another of Ceolfrid's codices. They are described in the *Report of the Historical MSS. Commission for 1911*, 196 and 611. They once formed the covers for chartularies of the Willoughby estates which were bound not earlier than the reign of Edward vi. They consist, like the Greenwell leaf, of parts of the Book of Kings, and agree with the Greenwell leaf in their details.¹ The publication of these leaves, it is understood, has been undertaken by Mr. Turner. It is a matter of regret that their publication has been so long delayed, for the precious MS. is one of the first moment to every one interested in Bible studies.

Some fragments of a codex also exist at Utrecht bound up with the famous Utrecht Psalter. They consist of parts of Matthew and John. Scrivener and Miller speak of them as written in an Anglian hand strongly resembling that of the *Codex Amiatinus*.² Mr. Kenyon says the fragments are written

¹ See D. S. Boutflower, *The Life of Ceolfrid*, 114–116.

² *Op. cit.* ii. 83.

in a hand closely resembling that of the *Amiatinus*, and evidently produced in the same scriptorium.¹ This points to the Utrecht fragments having also come from one of the two sister MSS. given by Ceolfrid to his two abbeys.

If, then, the *Codex Amiatinus* be traced to Italy and shown to be directly derived from the famous pandect in nine volumes prepared by Cassiodorus, it has a much higher title to our reverence and confidence. We can now confidently affirm of one of the volumes at Jarrow—namely, the *Codex Grandior*—that it represented very faithfully a text of the latter part of the sixth century, and not later than 580; while the text of the three pandects of the New Version also dated from the same period and was prepared by one of the greatest scholars of the time, who was possessed of much means and a very ample library, and had devoted great pains to its preparation; and it is plain that by an analysis of the *Codex Amiatinus* we shall ascertain what the Bible of Cassiodorus really was. It may be, indeed, that this particular copy presented to the Pope was in fact the *Urtext* or original mother MS. compiled by and representing the syncretic notions of Cassiodorus himself.

Let us now shortly analyse the contents of the *Codex Amiatinus*, or, as we may call it, the Bible of Cassiodorus, omitting the first eight leaves, which, as we have seen, were transferred from another text.

On page 9, which has no title, we find St. Jerome's preface to the Pentateuch, addressed to Desiderius. Then come the words in larger letters which are gilt, *Explic. Prolog. Incip. Capit. Lib. Genes.* Then follows Genesis in 63 chapters. The chapters are generally divided into verses, which are shorter than those in the usual editions. It ends with the words *Explic. Lib. Gen.*

On folio 50 we have *Liber Exodi. Incipiunt Capit.* with 14 chapters: it ends with the words, *Explic. "Hellemot" id est Exodus Feliciter.*

On folio 86 we have *Incip. Capit. Levitici*, with 16 chapters. At the end we read, *Expliciunt Capitula. Incipit liber Leviticus qui hebraice dicitur "vaiebra" Lege feliciter;* and then, *Epl. Leviticus qui Hebraice dicitur "Vaiebra. Lege" felix.*

On fol. 110 we have *Incipiunt capitula libri Numerorum*, with 19 chapters. At the end, *Explic. capit. Incipit liber Numerorum qui appellatur Hebraice Vaieddaber Gloria individuae trinitati Amen.*

¹ *Op. cit.* 198.

On fol. 144 Deuteronomy commences without any title. Its chapters are 20, and it ends with the words in uncials, *Expliciunt Capitula. Incipit liber Deuteronomi hebraice dicitur "Helle-dabarim." Deo laudes; Lege feliciter Amen. Ora pro me*, with the letters arranged :

P
O R A
O
M
E

Fol. 174. The prologue to Joshua, after which come the chapters of that book, numbering 10.

Fol. 194. The words *Capitula Judicum*; then the chapters, 21 in number.

Fol. 215. The words *Incipit Lib. Ruth*, with 4 chapters, numbered in the margin.

Fol. 228. Jerome's prologue to "the Kings," headed *Praefatio Regnorum. Incipit brevis*, with 90 chapters in a continuous enumeration. Chapter xlvi. begins with a larger capital than the other chapters, while its first word is written in gold and with a gap as if beginning a new book. Then comes another enumeration of chapters, one in 30 and the other in 24.

Fol. 275. Without any preface, there begin here the chapters of the 3rd and 4th Books of Kings, 84 in number. At the end of the 3rd book is the word *Finis*, which belongs properly to chapter 52. Here again we have a larger initial and a space, while all the first verse is gilt.

The former two books are entitled at the tops of the pages Samuhel, and the latter two Malachim, without any distinction into first and second.

Fol. 329. The two books of Paralipomena, with the title and the preface of St. Jerome; between the two is a space and a gilt capital. At the heads of the pages is the word Paralipomenon, without any distinction into two books.

Fol. 379. Without any title, comes the Book of Psalms, with Jerome's preface addressed to Sophronios. Then the words *Psalmus David de Joseph dicit qui Corpus Christi sepelivit.*

Fol. 419. The Proverbs of Solomon, with Jerome's preface, in 30 chapters.

Fol. 437. The Book of Ecclesiastes, with 12 chapters.

Fol. 443. *Liber Canticum Canticorum*, in 8 chapters.

Fol. 447. Sapientia or Wisdom, in 13 chapters.

Fol. 460. Jerome's preface to Ecclesiasticus, then the chapters of the book, 26 in number. This book is larger in this text than in the Vulgate. At the end we have the words, *Liber Ecclesiasticus Salomonis.*

Fol. 476. Isaiah, preceded by Jerome's prologue and the list of chapters, 158 in number.

Fol. 536. Jeremiah, with Jerome's preface and ending with the words, *Explicit liber Hieremiae Prophetae.* In the last chapter are contained the four Lamentations and the prayer of Jeremiah.

Fol. 590. Ezekiel, with Jerome's prologue and the index of chapters, 110 in number.

Fol. 633. Daniel bears the title, *Incip. Lib. Danihelis Prop.*; then follows, *Praefatio beati Hierorimi*, followed by 31 chapters. The book ends, *et devorati sunt in momento coram es. Amen. Expl. Danihel Propheta.*

Fol. 650. Then follow 12 *Prophetae minores*, preceded by Jerome's preface. Then the *Elenchus* of titles, with the number of chapters in each book. The order is Osea with 8 chapters, Joel with 5, Amos with 10, Abdea with 1, Jonah with 2, Micea with 7, Naum with 1, Abacuc with 3, Sofonia with 1, Aggeo with 1, Zaccaria with 15, and Malachia with 3.

Fol. 682. Job with 36 chapters, ending *Explicitunt Capitula Job! Incipit ipse liber feliciter.*

Fol. 701. Tobias with prologue, without any division into chapters.

Fol. 709. Judith, preceded by Jerome's prologue and with the enumeration of 16 chapters.

Fol. 729. Esther, with its prologue and division into 16 chapters.

Fol. 730. The Book of Esdras, preceded by Jerome's preface and forming only one book but divided into two parts, the first of which begins, *In anno primo Cyri*, etc.; the second, after an interval of 10 lines, in the middle of which in larger letters is written *Neemia*, the text commencing, *Verba Neemiae.* It ends with the words *Expl. Lib. Ezrae sive Neemiae.* It contains no ancient enumeration of chapters. It will be noted as remarkable that although Cassiodorus in the *Codex Amiatinus* follows the old Latin Bible in his canon, he apparently fails to do so in ignoring the First Book of Esdras and perhaps the Fourth. This was doubtless due to the very ruthless language applied to these books by Jerome, which seems to have overpowered the judgment of the great scholar of Scyllacium.

Fol. 750. The two books of Maccabees, the first with 61 and the second with 55 chapters, and ending with the words, *Explicant Machabeorum libri duo, Deo gratias Amen, felicitis qui legis amen.*

It seems quite plain from this list of contents that the mother text from which the *Codex Amiatinus* and its two sisters were copied was a codex written under the superintendence and direction of Cassiodorus and was partially the result of his syncretic work, and that it does not represent Jerome's unadulterated text at all. It is clear, in fact, that both in its list of contents and also in the actual books it varies from Jerome's own Bible. It contains several books treated by Jerome as uncanonical, e.g. Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobias, Judith, and two books of Maccabees. The most remarkable evidence that points to the text of the *Codex Amiatinus* as it stands being other than Jerome's text is to be found, however, in a comparison of its contents with those of Jerome's actual text as it existed in the library of Cassiodorus and as given in the 12th chapter of his work already cited. It seems impossible, therefore, to claim the *Codex Amiatinus* as a text of Jerome's version, much less as the best existing type of that version. It is no doubt largely based on Jerome's text, but it seems to me to be really a new edition by Cassiodorus. This conclusion is very important when we remember that the first Carlovingian Bibles were so largely dependent on it.

It is assuredly also a matter of high importance for the criticism of the Latin Bible to realise that we have in the *Codex Amiatinus* and in Bede's Biblical extracts samples of the Eclectic Bible text accepted in the sixth century A.D. as the best critical text available by the best Biblical scholar of that age, and it greatly enhances the value and importance of Bede's quotations from it.

May I add one further fact which strengthens the view that in the *Codex Amiatinus* we may have the very copy of the New Bible compiled by Cassiodorus which formed his critical text, and not a mere copy of it made for Ceolfrid—namely, that at the end of the prologue to Leviticus we have a barbarous Greek inscription in the words:

Ο ΚΥΡΙΣ ΣΕΡΒΑΝΔΟΣ ΑΙ ΠΟΙΗΘΕΝ.

These words show that when he wrote them Serbandus or Servandus, who was no Englishman but the Italian scribe of the

MS., was living in a part of Italy where Greek was still understood, and this could only have been in the old land of Magna Græcia in the extreme south of Italy. Bishop Browne says of this entry "that it is by the same hand as the rest": the separation of AI from ΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ (originally, perhaps, Hoiei) should not be called a mistake, for we have here other examples of spacing out so as to make one word into two.

Another thing occurs to me. Such enormous pandects as these must have taken a long time to write, and could not have been written during Ceolfrid's short stay in Italy. They must either have been sent after him to England, or else, which is more probable, there were copies of the very fine text of Cassiodorus, which were kept for sale at the great scriptorium at Scyllacium.¹

I may further add that in the library at Durham, B. ii. 30, is a copy of the Commentary of Cassiodorus on the Psalms, traditionally said to have been written by Bede.² In an early list of the Durham books it is referred to in the margin with the words "Manu Bedae." This may also have been brought from Scyllacium by Ceolfrid.

¹ Professor White, who has read this paper, assures me that he only finds one difficulty in accepting the view here maintained, namely, that it involves Ceolfrid sending back to the Pope as a present what he had himself bought in, and brought back from Rome. This does not seem to me so strange. As I have shown in my history of *St. Gregory the Great*, perhaps no part of the Mediterranean lands was at this time so poor in books as Rome and the Roman territory. The libraries there had apparently been utterly destroyed, and the great Pope, in writing to his correspondents, excuses himself for not being able to lend them books because they were so hard to obtain in Rome, and confesses that some very important ones could not be found there, notably the great work of Tertullian, and even such necessary books as authoritative copies of the Conciliar Canons. How likely would it be therefore, that when the great library at Scyllacium was broken up and dispersed, some of its treasures having fallen into the hands of the book-loving monks of Northumbria, one of them, Ceolfrid, who had secured treasures from that source, should combine two of the great books to form a lordly volume to place at the feet of the Pontiff his master, as the most valued gift he could make him.

² Plummer, *Bede*, i. xx, note 3.

CORRECTIONS AND NOTES

VOLUME I

lxiii . . . 23.*—In regard to Bede's view of Purgatory, he says: “*Sunt qui de levioribus peccatis, quibus obligati defuncti sunt, post mortem possunt absolvī; vel poenis . . . castigati, vel suorum precibus, eleemosynis, missarum celebrationibus absoluti.*”¹ Purgatory with him is only for the cleansing of lesser sins (x. 349 and 350; cf. vii. 355, v. 381).²

lxix . . . 28.—There is no question about the kind of cult in which these relics had a part. They were not used merely to recall the memory of the saints to whom they had once belonged, but were themselves “adored or worshipped.” Thus Bede, speaking of the departure of Ceolfrid for Italy, says: “*adorat crucem.*”³ In the *Anonymous Life* the words are: “*adorat ad crucem.*”⁴ St. Ecgbert wished to go to Rome “*ad videnda et adoranda beatorum apostolorum et martyrum Christi limina cogitavit.*”⁵ Of Benedict Biscop, Bede said: “*beatorum apostolorum loca corporum corporaliter visere atque adorare curavit.*”⁶ And, again, of Ceolfrid: “*se vidisse et adorasse recordans exultabat.*” Relics were deemed essential to the due consecration of a church.

lxxvi . . . 29.—On this subject Lingard writes: “During this period the power of canonising saints was exercised by the provincial bishops and national councils. The first instance of a solemn canonisation by the Pope occurs in the year 993, when John xv., after a diligent inquiry into the life and virtues of Ulric, Bishop of Augsburg, enrolled him among the saints. It was not till the beginning of the twelfth century that the privilege of canonisation was reserved to the Holy See by Alexander III. From that period to the accession of Clement

* These numbers refer to pages and lines of each volume.

¹ Bede, *Opp.*, ix. 96.

² Plummer's *Bede*, i. lxvi, note 8.

³ Bede, *Hist. Abb.*, ed. Plummer, p. 382.

⁴ *Ib.* 398.

⁵ Bede, *H.E.*, v. ch. 9.

⁶ Bede, *Hist. Abb.*, p. 365.

xiii., in 1758, one hundred and fifteen persons had been solemnly canonised.”¹

At first, the Church of Rome admitted none but martyrs into the catalogue of saints. From different calendars in Muratori,² it appears that the names of confessors were afterwards introduced (but very sparingly), namely, those of St. Sylvester in the fourth, St. Martin of Tours in the sixth, and St. Gregory in the seventh centuries. In the *Collectarium* we only find the additional name of St. Benedict on the 5th of the ides of July, “manifestly,” says Lingard, “an interpolation after the reported transport of his relics to Fleury. Neither is there a single name of any British, Scottish, or Anglo-Saxon saint. Thus, neither Aidan nor Cuthberht, though their festivals were solemnly kept at Lindisfarne and Chester-le-Street, were in the *Collectarium*, nor were St. Augustine and St. Boniface; although a Gallic saint, St. Martin, occurs in it.” Lingard thinks the book just quoted belonged to the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours.³

lxxxiii . . . 8.—There still remain two works which tradition claims to have been in Bede’s own handwriting. One of them is a Durham MS., B, ii. 30, and is a copy of the commentary of Cassiodorus on the Psalms, which has a marginal note in a fourteenth-century hand claiming it as his handiwork.⁴

A second work is a fragment of St. Paul’s epistles in the Cottonian Collection, Vitell. C, viii. fol. 83. Wanley in his *Catalogue of Saxon MSS.*, 241, says he had seen a copy of St. Paul’s epistles written in the same hand, and then in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. He further says the Rushworth copy of the Gospels was also reputed to have belonged to him. Stevenson says of it: “All which we can assert is that the MS. is certainly of Bede’s time, and that the language in which it is glossed is Northumbrian.”⁵

lxxxv . . . 11.—Bede’s greatest distinction was probably this mention of him by Dante in his immortal work, where he puts him next to Isidore in Paradise:

“Vedi oltre flammeggiar l’ardente spirò
D’Isidoro, di Beda.”⁶

¹ Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. 89.

² *de reb. Litur.*, ch. iv. 27–33.

³ *Op. cit.* ii. 361 and 362.

⁴ See *Pal. Soc. Trans.*, Plate 164.

⁵ *Church Hist. of England*, i. part ii. xxi.

⁶ *Parad.*, x. 130 and 131.

In his letter to the Italian Cardinals, Dante speaks of Bede as one of his subjects of study.¹ It was no doubt from Bede he derived some of the eschatology which he seems to have taken over from Fursey, Dryhthelm, and others, as presented in Bede's *History*. Gebhardt, Archbishop of Salzburg, writing in 1087, says that Bede's homilies were in his time read annually in Church.²

lxxxvii . . . 30.—According to William of Malmesbury, the following lines were inscribed on his tomb at Jarrow:

*"Presbyter hic Beda requiescit carne sepultus
Dona, Christe, animam in coelis gaudere per aevum
Daque illi sophiae debriari fonte, cui jam
Suspiravit ovans intento semper amore."*

When Bede's remains were translated by Bishop Hugh Pudsey in 1104, they were placed in a casket of gold and silver and deposited in the Galilee in the cathedral which had been just completed at Durham, and a new inscription was placed over them, namely:

*"Continet haec theca Bedae venerabilis ossa
Sensum factori Christus dedit, aesque dator,
Petrus opus fecit; praesul dedit hoc Hugo donum,
Sic in utroque suum veneratus utrumque patronum."³*

A second translation took place in 1370.⁴

In November 1541, Pudsey's shrine, together with Bede's relics, were removed from Durham and destroyed. The stone on which it stood still remains,⁵ and I have given a representation of it.

lxxxviii . . . 33.—The number of Latin authors known to certain mediæval writers must not be measured by their quotations. The fact is, most of their knowledge was second-hand. Wright says: "At Rome, the classical writers had long ceased to be popular; for the zeal which often led the Christians, in their estimation of the sentiment, into an injudicious depreciation of the language when adorned only by its own beauties, had already condemned them to that neglect under which many of them were perishing. Those which are preserved we owe in a great measure to the grammarians who

¹ Plummer, *Bede*, i. xli, note 4.

² *Ib.* ii. xlvi

³ Stowe, Harl. MS., 367, fol. 75.

⁴ *Ib.* fol. 76

⁵ See Stevenson, *Bede*, xx. and xxi.

flourished in the latter days of the Empire, such as Priscian and Donatus, who by their continual quotations gave some of them a certain value in the eyes of men who made those grammarians an important part of their studies. It is almost solely in grammatical treatises that we find these authors quoted during the age which produced the principal Latin writers among the Anglo-Saxons, although most of the Anglo-Latin poets were continually endeavouring to imitate them.¹

xc . . . 17.—One reason given by Bede for writing his commentaries was the great expense of the original works on which they were based: “*tam copiosa ut vix, nisi a locupletioribus tot volumina acquiri. . . valeant.*”² He had himself suffered from the need of books. Thus, in speaking of the *Catena* of Paterius on the passages in St. Gregory’s works from the Bible, he says: “*quod opus si haberem ad manus, facilius multo . . . studium meae voluntatis impleren . . . verum . . . necdum illud merui videre.*”³ Hence his desire to popularise the knowledge which he had acquired “*ut ad plurimos res ipsa perveniat.*”⁴

Raine says of Bede’s Biblical commentaries, that he could not help thinking they were intended to be the text-books of the Northumbrian province, and that they largely owe their existence to Acca, who seems to have been his patron. Thus it was to him that Bede dedicated a poem in hexameters on the Day of Judgment, also his Hexameron and Commentary on St. Mark’s Gospel. Bede did not propose to write a similar one on St. Luke, since St. Ambrose had already done so; upon which Acca urged him to do it, in a very pleasantly written letter, in which he quotes both sacred and profane writers. A touch of humour is apparent here and there. Thus in one place he says to his friend, “*Beatum Lucam luculento sermone expone.*” In his reply Bede assents to his request, and speaks of himself as being his own dictator, notary, and librarian.⁵

xc . . . 18.—Bede’s expository work is mainly allegorical. This method was chiefly due to the influence of Origen, which greatly affected a large part of patristic and mediæval exegesis. We see its beginning, however, in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Bede cites the latter as justifying his method:⁶ “*Vestigia ejus*

¹ *Biog. Lit.*, 41.

² *Opera*, vii. 1-2.

³ *Ib.* ix. 388.

⁴ Plummer, *Bede*, i. xxiii, note.

⁵ Acca’s letter is printed at length in Raine’s *Hexham*, pp. 33 and 34, note.

⁶ *Opp.*, vii. 175.

sectantes." "It rests on the belief that nothing in Scripture can be without significance. Thus hours and places, names and numbers are full of meaning. He uses the word sacrament to mean not the outward sign of spiritual grace, but the inner and spiritual meaning of an external fact, or narrative, or name. St. Paul in 2 Cor. x. 11 (Vulgate) is specially quoted. Christ's parables were meant to teach us to look below the surface of things. Moses must have wished to give more than historical information." I cannot resist quoting Mr. Plummer's illuminating note on various examples of Bede's interpretation :

"Here are some of these '*leges allegoriae.*' A dove must always signify the Spirit because of Luke iii. 22 (*Opp.*, ix. 336; x. 178). Silver=the Word of God because of Ps. xi. 7 (viii. 380, 381; xi. 281, and seq.). Wood=the Gospel, for the Cross was made of wood (viii. 295). Stone=the Law, because it was written on tables of stone (viii. 295; x. 254; xi. 341, 375); but it also meant hard hearts, because of Ezek. xxxvi. 26 (x. 345). A millstone=the wicked, because of Ps. xi. 9, '*in circuitu impii ambulant*' (xii. 422). Thorns=sins; cf. Gen. iii. 18 (x. 238). A reed=Scripture, as written with a reed pen (x. 239, 248). But it also=the carnal mind, because it is easily deflected (xi. 47). Left and right mean respectively present and eternal things, because of Prov. iii. 16, '*Longitudo dierum in dextera eius, et in sinistra illius divitiae et gloria*' (x. 279). The arm of God is the Son, because of John i. 3, '*omnia per ipsum facta sunt*' (x. 296; xi. 140). The finger of God is the Spirit, Luke xi. 20, compared with Matt. xii. 28 (xi. 141). Most curious of all: '*sputum* (i.e. the spittle) . . . *Domini saporem designat sapientiae, quae . . . loquitur: "Ego ex ore Altissimi prodiui"*' (Eccl. xxiv. 5) (x. 112). Again: '*Lutum de terra caro Christi est. Sputum de ore, diuinitas ejus est, quia "caput Christi Deus"*' (1 Cor. xi. 3) (x. 381). Other instances are these: Skins=death (ix. 343; x. 9, 87, 349). Loins=succession, generation (ix. 344; xii. 426). Fish=faith (x. 135). Sea=present world (x. 67). Water=Spirit, but also=depth of intellect (xii. 441, 442). Mountain=the Devil (x. 181). A good deal of Bede's symbolism is borrowed from the traditional natural history of his time, e.g. the dove (v. 170, 174, 175; ix. 228, 243, 244; cf. Lft., App. Ff. II. iii. 390, 391); the stag (ix. 80, 238); the goat (ix. 238, 240, 348); the fox (ix. 248); the elephant (ix. 316); the eagle (xi. 61, 257); the cedar (ix. 230); the mulberry tree (xi. 242); precious stones (xii. 437-447).

"But it is in dealing with numerals that this method reaches its most elaborate results; and here, too, Bede was following Isidore, who wrote a special treatise on the numbers of Scripture (*Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, iii. 309). Arator also influenced him (Werner, p. 191; Sanday, u.s., pp. 35, 56). Thus: $\frac{1}{2}$ =imperfection (vii. 235, 243). 2=the two Testaments (vii. 305); =Jews and Gentiles (vii. 308); =the love of God and the love of our own neighbour (viii. 279); =mutual love (vii. 240; viii. 301). But it also=division, discord, etc. (xi. 178). 3=the Trinity (vii. 312, 330); =heart, soul, and strength (vii. 312; x. 363); =the theological virtues—faith, hope, charity (vii. 301, 314); =the three evangelical virtues—almsgiving, prayer, fasting (viii. 269); =Resurrection on the third day (viii. 422); =the married, continent, and virgins (xi. 189); =the three continents—Europe, Asia, Africa (v. 4; xii. 48). 4=the Gospels (vii. 308, 314; cf. Sanday, u.s., pp. 309 ff.); =the four quarters of the world (vii. 301, 308); =the four cardinal virtues—temperance, fortitude, justice, prudence (vii. 269, 295; x. 399); =the four elements (vii. 349); =the four seasons of the year, and the four humours or elements of the body (vii. 430–431; viii. 351, comp. x. 363). 5=the five books of Moses or the Law (*Oph.*, vii. 299; viii. 353); =the five senses (vii. 301, 315; x. 357); =the five ages of the world before Christ (viii. 353). 6=perfection of work, because God made the world in six days (vii. 253; viii. 48; xii. 358). 7=the Spirit and His sevensfold gifts (xii. 441, etc.); =the Sabbath and rest (vii. 314); =penitence, because of the seven penitential psalms (vii. 407), perfection or wholeness (vi. 268; vii. 383; xi. 61; xii. 340); but seven may also be treated as 4 and 3 (viii. 351; x. 363; xii. 345). 8=the Resurrection on the eighth day of the week, which is also the first (vii. 314; viii. 271). It may also mean the day of Judgment, because it follows the seven days of the world's ages (viii. 319)." 9 is omitted by Mr. Plummer; I do not know why. "10=the Decalogue (vii. 362, etc.); =the name of Jesus, of which the initial letter has this numerical value (*ib.*); =the heavenly reward and rest, because of the *denarius*, which the labourers in the Lord's vineyard received (vii. 313; viii. 9); but 10=also 5×2 (viii. 353). 11=transgression, because it is one beyond the number of the Commandments (vii. 82; xii. 10, 417). 12=wholeness (v. 180). It also= 3×4 with their various interpretations (vii. 338–9; viii. 333, 421; ix. 334; x. 44; xi. 436). 50=jubilee, rest, remission (v. 78; vii. 312 and 313; viii. 298).

It also = the Pentecostal gift of the Spirit (vii. 316). The larger the figures the greater the number of combinations. For 15, see xi. 391; vii. 110, 314. For 18, viii. 322; xi. 181-2. For 20, see vii. 362-3, comp. 423. For 24, see xii. 356-7. For 30, x. 356; xi. 67. For 40, vii. 108, 230; x. 13; xii. 136. The sum of the component parts of 40 yields 50, from which Bede deduces the lesson that the 40 days during which the risen Saviour goes in and out among His disciples on this earth lead to the jubilee of eternal rest (xii. 14). For 42, see x. 364. For 60, ix. 260, 334. For 70, xii. 340. For 75, vii. 157. For 77, x. 363. For 80, ix. 334. For 84, x. 335. For 85, viii. 159. For 100, vii. 310, 311; x. 62; xi. 67. For 120, viii. 286; xii. 10. For 144, see xii. 340, 367, 401, 437. For 300, x. 365. For 318, vii. 173. For 365, vii. 89. For 888, x. 321. For 1000, viii. 113; ix. 383. For 1600, xii. 407."¹

xcii . . . 40.—Bede secured additional materials after he wrote the preface to his prose life of Cuthberht, which he did not care to use *at the time*. In MS. Fairfax two additional paragraphs, numbered 31 and 32, are added.²

xciv . . . 32.—In Werner's *Beda der Ehrwürdige und seine Zeit.*, pp. 121-49, the nature and importance of Bede's great reform in dating are fully discussed. The new method was not used in papal documents till the eleventh century. Bede's motive in discussing the subject at length was, no doubt, to settle the Paschal controversy.

xcix . . . 29.—Having finished his *History* in 731, Bede sent a copy to King Ceolfrid for revision, and on its return he made some alterations and then issued it as we have it, adding, first, the prologue in the form of a letter to the King; secondly, probably the passage about Charles Martel's great victory in the Pyrenees; and, thirdly, the appendix containing notices about himself. This was apparently all written in 732. The mention of himself in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in chapter 24, also points to the same conclusion; 732 was his fifty-ninth year, so that he was born in 674. This also agrees with Florence of Worcester.

ci . . . 9.—The chronological epitome which forms chapter 24 of the fifth book of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* is not alike in all the MSS. Certain entries apparently occur only in some of them. Among these are the notices under the years 538 and 540, both relating to solar eclipses, and 547, dealing with King Ida. In addition, we have three entries relating to Mercia dated in 675,

¹ Plummer, *Bede*, i. lix, note.

² Vide *Opp.*, MS., p. 4.

697, and 698, and one in 711 about the fight between Berhtfrid and the Picts. In all these cases the entries have nothing corresponding to them in the body of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

They all occur in the earlier editions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and it is therefore plain either that the author of the latter used one of the copies in question; or the entries in these copies were interpolations taken from the *Chronicle*; or thirdly, that these copies and the *Chronicle* had a common source, both of which latter hypotheses are unlikely.

xii . . . 7.—A criticism of Æddi's work in regard to its merits as an authority, by Mr. R. W. Wells, may be found in the *Eng. Hist. Review*. It reached me after most of this work was written. It was pleasant to find that we had arrived at almost the same conclusions independently. It is a very good piece of work.

xii . . . 30.—The work was dedicated to Bishop Ecgberht of Lindisfarne, who ruled that see from 802–820. In chapter 16 of the poem the author claims to have written another one on the holy men of England, one of whom was the lector Hyglac:

“*De quo jamadum perstensis pauca relatu
Anglorum de gente pios dum carine quosdam
Jam cleoini indoctus, vilisque per omnia scriptor.*”

xiii . . . 23.—I here propose to give some short notices of some of the lives of the saints which I have found useful in the preceding work, and which I did not think sufficiently important to put in the Introduction.

The *Life of St. Oswald*, composed by Reginald of Durham, although a twelfth-century document, was written by a capable and industrious person, who collected traditions and stories assiduously. It has been well edited as a third appendix to volume i. of the works of Symeon of Durham by Mr. T. Arnold in the Rolls Series. Reginald also composed a life of St. Aebba or Ebba, which amplifies Bede's notice of her. It is found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, 25th August. A similar life of St. Oswy, dating as it stands from the twelfth century, also contains some traditional matter of interest. This Life was published by the Surtees Society in its volume entitled *Miscellanea Biographica*.

Jocelyn, the famous eleventh-century biographer of saints, produced more than one which I have found useful in the preceding pages, e.g. a life of St. Mildred and an account of the passion of the martyr princes Ethelred and Ethelberht, grandsons

of Eadbald, King of Kent. These Lives by Jocelyn were freely used by Florence of Worcester and Symeon of Durham.

The life of St. Aetheldrytha by Thomas of Ely, forming the first part of his compilation on the history of that monastery, contains a good deal of local matter of interest; an excellent abridgment of it is contained in *Anglia Sacra* (Wharton).

A life of St. Eata, one of the pupils of St. Aidan, who became prior of Hexham and afterwards of Lindisfarne, and was buried near the presbytery at Hexham, is attributed to Ailred of Rievaulx by Hardy, and is printed in the *Miscellanea Biographica* of the Surtees Society. It is of slight value.

A life of Erkenwald, Bishop of London, is printed by Dugdale in his *History of St. Paul's*, pp. 293-94. It has been attributed to Jocelyn, but Hardy thinks it was composed by a canon of that cathedral, nephew of Bishop Gilbert, who also wrote an account of his miracles and translation about 1140.¹

A life of St. Sexburga attributed to Jocelyn, and partly based on an Anglo-Saxon one of which a fragment remains (MS. Lambeth, 427), adds little or nothing to Bede's story. It is printed in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Aurea*.²

Folcard, who wrote the life of St. John of Beverley, also wrote a biography of St. Botulf, which contains some notable fables. It is printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, 17th June, iii. 402.

This life of St. Botulf shows from its prologue that it was written in the eleventh or twelfth century.

St. Cuthburga, wife of Ealfrid, King of Northumbria, and afterwards the foundress of the Abbey of Wimborne, is not named by Bede, but her story is told by Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury. An account of her in MS. Lansdowne, 436, fol. 38-41, is chiefly devoted to a dialogue between her and her husband, whom she addresses as “*super modernos reges literarum eruditus scientia*”; and to a sermon addressed to her by her nuns.³

A life of St. Ecgwin, Bishop of Worcester, another saint unmentioned by Bede, is preserved in the Cott. MS., Nero E, i., which is of the tenth or eleventh century, and is the chief authority for his doings. It was composed by Brithwulf, a monk of Worcester. It was probably put together at the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, and claims to be founded on Ecgwin's own autobiography.⁴

¹ *Cat. Brit. Hist.*, i. 293 and 294.

³ *Ib.* i. 384.

² *Ib.* i. 360.

⁴ *Ib.* 415; also *Anglia Sacra*, i. 470.

cxxvi . . . 24.—It is curious that the only other document said to have emanated from Adeodatus is also a letter addressed to the Bishops of Gaul, declaring that though the Holy See was not wont to exempt monasteries from episcopal control, yet as the Bishop of Tours had himself exempted the monastery of St. Martin, he would confirm the exemption of this house from the jurisdiction of the Ordinary. This document has been accepted by that very credulous and unsafe guide Pagi, but has been generally rejected by French scholars.

cxl . . . 30.—By an inadvertence I overlooked mentioning in the Introduction a charter professing to be granted by Chlothaire (Leutherius), Bishop of the West Saxons, to Aldhelm the priest. As it is dated on August the 26th, 670, *by the Incarnation*, it is clearly marked out as spurious. It is written in very inflated Latin. The grantor styles himself “*Leutherius pontificatus Saxonie gubernacula regens*,” and recites that he had been asked by the abbots presiding over the monasteries in his diocese (*parochia*) to make the gift for the purpose of enlarging the monastery. The place so granted was called “Maldumeburg” (*i.e.* Malmesbury), where, it says, Aldhelm had spent his infancy and learnt his early lessons. It was professedly signed near the river Bladon, and is attested by Leutherius (*sic*), as Bishop, Cunuberhtus the Abbot, Hædde the Abbot, and others. Dr. William Wright in his *Biog. Brit.*, i. 212-213, has dissected this charter and shown how impossible it is to trust it. It is rejected by Kemble, who numbers it xi.; Birch numbers it 37.

cxl . . . 25.—A second deed which I overlooked is marked 45 by Kemble (who rejects it) and 100 by Birch, and consists of the confirmation of a grant by King Ini to Abbot Hean of lands at Bradanafel and Bestlesforda, at Stretlee and Æaromundeslee, with the consent of Archbishop Brihtwald (*i.e.* Beorhtwald) and Bishop Daniel. It is dated by the Incarnation in the year 687, which is of course impossible, and is witnessed by King Ini of Wessex, Æthelred, King of Mercia, by Æthelfrith, and Bishop Daniel. Winberht signs it as the scribe of the document.

4 . . . 16.—In the *Vita S. Oswaldi* it is suggested that Cadvan arranged a marriage for his son Caedwalla with Oswald's sister.¹

¹ Appendix to *Sym. of Durham*, ed. Arnold, i. 345.

4 . . . 17.—Haethfeldt has been identified with Hatfield Chase, north-east of Doncaster. "Robert Talbot, the sixteenth-century annotator of MS. C of the *Chronicle*," says Plummer, "tells us 'it was in ye forest off Shyrwode,' i.e. Sherwood, which is now to the south of Doncaster, but may then have extended farther north. Nennius and the *Ann. Camb.* both call this battle the battle of Meicen."¹ Ædwin, having died when fighting against the heathen, was deemed a martyr (*martyrio coronatus*).² His day in the calendar is October 4th, a mistake, says Plummer, probably due to the omission of *id* (for "iduum").

5 . . . 26.—The same work says that Oswald's mother, Acha, was a Christian, which is very probable, since she was a sister of St. Ædwin, and suggests that he was first taught Christianity by her, and only completed his education in Ireland, whither she went with her sons. There Oswald also learnt the Irish language, "*linguam Scottorum perfecte didicit et fidei documenta quae prius a matre Christiana perceperat gentis illius credulac eruditione solidavit, et lavaero sacri baptismatis purificatus.*"³

6 . . . 29.—Tighernach speaks of Eanfrid having fought a regular battle, and says that afterwards he was beheaded: "*Cath la [praelium per] Cathlon et Anfraith qui decollatus est.*"⁴

19 . . . 4.—Not only were the principal ecclesiastics for the most part of good family, but in the Scotic monasteries the abbatial succession was generally confined to the clan of the founder.⁵

25 . . . 25.—Todd, in his Life of St. Patrick, tells us the Bishop of Aquino was under the Abbot of Monte Casino. A bishop also resided in a monastery at Sinai.⁶

40 . . . 25.—Reginald of Durham in his *Vit. Oswaldi* calls special attention to this breach of Catholic usage.⁷ He spells the name of the princess Kyneburga.⁸

48 . . . 25.—Ælfwine is styled *rex* by Æddi, and it is possible he reigned as sub-king of Deira under his brother Ecgfrith.

50 . . . 24.—In the *Vit. Oswaldi* Maserfield is put at Shrewsbury (Scropesbyri).⁹

¹ Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 115 and 116.

² *Vit. Oswaldi*, S. of D., i. 341.

³ *Ib.* i. 341.

⁴ Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 121.

⁵ See Stewart's Preface to the Book of Deor.

⁶ Bright, 157.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 342 and 343.

⁸ *Ib.* 349.

⁹ *Ib.* 353.

54 . . . 7.—A Norman writer quoted by Camden, *Britt.* iii. 234, says:

“ *Quis fuit Alcides (Hercules)? quis Caesar Julius? aut quis Magnus Alexander? Alcide se superasse. Fertur; Alexander mundum, sed Julius hostem, Se simul Osualdus et mundum vicit et hostem.*”¹

55 . . . 11.—In Adamnan's Life of St. Columba Oswy is called “*regnator Saxonicus.*”²

55 . . . 16.—In the *Life of St. Oswald* a miracle is reported of the king as occurring before his death. We are told that he was attacked by a dire disease, apparently the plague, and when he was lying very ill three angels visited him as a deputation from the choir in heaven, who told him that Christ had heard his prayer and those of all the Anglian people, and had freed him from the death summons (*de istius cladis peste absolutum liberavit*). Reginald says he had taken this account from a very old book in the Anglian tongue which he had translated into Latin.³

55 . . . 18.—Reginald, in fact, calls him St. Ædwin.

58 . . . 24.—By Alcred he means Alchfrid, son of Oswy, King of Northumbria.

59 . . . 19.—The remains of St. Oswald were supposed to be specially potent in curing the disease which had nearly killed him when king. “ *Nam frigescentes artus pauperum opibus et indumentis refovebat, et dolorum uredinem tam in pauperibus quam in divitiis affluentibus suam fore reputabat.*”⁴ In the Harleian MS. of the Life a Durham monk of the beginning of the sixteenth century adds the note, “ *Uredo est corruptio veniens a vento vidente, qua segetes videntur adustae in agro.*”⁵

60 . . . 1.—The appearance of the head, the hand, and arm of St. Oswald are described in great minuteness by Reginald in his Life of the saint above cited, and occupies four chapters, namely, 51, 52, 53, and 54.⁶ The details are worthy of a professed anatomist, and he deduces the nature of the death-blow from the condition of the bones of the neck: “ *quod ictus gladii ferientis non in obliquo, spiculatore truculento feriente deviando, demerserit, sed magis vibrantis viribus linealiter in directo tramite secando permeaverit.*”⁶

64 . . . 8.—Leland says “the Priory” of St. Oswald at

¹ *Op. cit.*, ed. Fowler, II.

² *Vit. Oswaldi*, 348 and 349.

³ *Vit. Oswaldi*, 369.

⁴ *Ib. note.*

⁵ *Ib.* 379–381.

⁶ *Ib.* 381.

Gloucester stood north-north-west from Gloucester Abbey upon "Severne ripe," i.e. on the banks of the Severn.¹

70 . . . 18.—Miss Arnold-Forster in her work on the dedications of English churches adds considerably to my list of those connected with St. Oswald. She says that, including double dedications, they number seventy-two, and gives a list.²

74 . . . 14.—Oidilwald is the Northumbrian form of the Wessex Æthelwald.

79 . . . 2.—Oswin's thorpe was, according to Thoresby's *Leeds*, 108, the royal residence in Loidis.

80 . . . 1.—On this place see the note in vol. i. pp. 154-155.

80 . . . 10.—A "comes" was one of the bodyguard or *comitatus* of the prince, and it was an especially heinous offence for such a one to be a traitor.

85 . . . 21.—According to Miss Arnold-Forster, the only church now dedicated to St. Oswyn is that of Wylam.

94 . . . 8.—St. Aidan's establishment at Lindisfarne was entirely monastic, and there were no secular clergy there. Thus, in referring to him, Bede in his *Vit. Cuth.*, cap. 16, says: "Unde ab illo omnes loci ipsius Antistites usque hodie sic episcopale exercent officium, ut regente monasterium Abbatem, quem ipsi eum consilio fratrum elegerint, omnes presbyteri, diaconi, cantores, lectores, ceterique gradus ecclesiastici monachicam per omnia cum ipso Episcopo regulam servent."

It is difficult to decide exactly between Lindisfarne and Farne Island in regard to which was entitled to the British name Medcaut, Irish Medgoet or Inis Melgoit, as Tighernach calls it. Nennius says distinctly, "Sanctus Cudbertus episcopus obiit in insula Medcaut."³ Bede says he died in "insula Farne,"⁴ but elsewhere the Irish writers seem to understand Lindisfarne by Medgoet.

Miss Arnold-Forster reports the following churches in England as dedicated to St. Aidan: Bamburgh, Benwell, Blackhill, Boston, Gateshead, Hartlepool, Harrington, Leeds, Liverpool, Newbiggin, South Shields, Thorneyburn, and Walton-le-Dale.⁵

Bishop Forbes in the *Kalendars of Scottish Saints* says of his memorials in Scotland: "The churches of Cambusnethan and of Menmuir were dedicated to the saint. Near to the latter

¹ *Itin.*, ed. L. Smith, ii. 62.

² *Op. cit.* iii. 433.

³ *M.H.B.*, 76.

⁴ *H.E.*, iv. 29.

⁵ *Studies in Church Dedications*, iii. 321.

church is St. Iten's Well, celebrated for the cure of asthma and cutaneous diseases. In the immediate vicinity is Come's Well, no doubt named after his successor, St. Colman. At Fearn is Aidan's Well."¹

94 . . . 28.—Prior Wessington says that King Edmund gave them to Glastonbury.²

113 . . . 23.—When Fursey arrived in East Anglia, Algeis, with Corbican and his servant Rodalgus, went on to Corbei and thence to Laon, while Foillan, Ultan, Goban, Dicuil, Etto, and Madelgisilus remained behind with Fursey.

In adding some additional notes on the famous "seer," I cannot avoid a quotation from my charming friend the late T. Hodgkin, recalling Dante, another great seer: "Men in Florence said when they saw this poet pass, 'That man has been in hell.'"

It is curious what a fascination the Irish hermits then exercised on the popular imagination on this side of the Irish Channel. Thus, Bede tells us he had seen some people who had been bitten by serpents and were cured by drinking water into which scrapings of the leaves of books that had been brought out of Ireland had been put.³ Green picturesquely describes the result of their handiwork as "creating a wild tangled growth of asceticism which dissociated piety from morality."⁴

114 . . . 18.—This castle is now known as Burgh Castle, where, as Miss Stokes says, Sigfred no doubt met the Burgundian Bishop Felix, from whom he doubtless learnt much about France and the Irish missions there.

115 . . . 10.—In the *Lives of the Irish Saints*, edited by Lord Bute, *ex codice Salmanticensi*, we are told that St. Fursey while in Ireland ordained three brothers as priests, namely, Algeis, Etho, and Goban, who accompanied him to England and afterwards went to France, where they became the patron saints of the towns—St. Algise, St. Gobian, and Avesnes.

My old friend Miss Margaret Stokes wrote an interesting account of the existing memorials of the saint in Ireland. Besides the foundations of the church at Inchiquin are the ruins of Fursey's monastery. It is now called Kill-arsagh, formerly Killfursa.⁵ Near it is a weir called Colla Fursa, or the Weir of Fursey. (Of this she gives a picture.) Near the church is a pillar stone with a rude cross and circle incised on it, which is said

¹ *Op. cit.* 269.

² *M.H.B.*, 203.

³ *Op. cit.*; *H.E.*, i. ch. 1.

⁴ *Making of England*, 317.

⁵ Miss Stokes, *Three Months in the Forests of France*, 136.

to be good for rheumatism. The "townland" to the north-east is still named after Fursey's father, Fintan, namely, Ard Fintan or Caher Fintan. The church stands in a large burial-ground on a slight eminence with the trees of Ower Park behind it to the north, and the long range of mountains rising over Lough Mask to the north-west. "There are some later inserted windows, but," says Miss Stokes, "we could find nothing to prove that the walls were not all original and of very great antiquity. The west doorway is a good example of the primitive Irish style, with horizontal lintel and inclined jambs. The lintel is of rough calcareous limestone and measures 3 feet in length and 2 in width. There are slit windows in the south wall, one over the other, both showing a very wide internal splay. At the east end there are four recesses at each side of the altar, and one in the north and another in the south wall. A round arched recess, now falling into ruin, beside the altar is another feature in the north wall. This was once probably filled by a tomb, which has now disappeared.

"The interior of the church proper, not including the western chamber, is 55 feet in length and $20\frac{1}{2}$ in width in the middle, but narrows gradually towards the west door; there is, in fact, no regularity in the ground plan, nor a single right angle in the building. This is due to the irregularities of the ground. There is neither transept nor chancel, and only a western chamber or galilee. It is 19 feet wide and 9 feet long, and is enclosed by a door in a line with the west door of the church. It was, apparently, a two-storied chamber, thus accounting for two slit windows, one over the other, in the south wall. Such a chamber exists in the church dedicated to the four beautiful saints, Fursa, Brendan, Berchann, and Conall, situated at Aranmore, and we know St. Fursa visited the Aran Islands before founding the church of Killfursa. Both these churches are built with grouting and with undressed stone." Miss Stokes suggests that this singular western addition was allotted to penitents, and also used as a place in which to deposit bodies previous to their interment, while the upper room became a muniment room.¹

Besides this large church, which was doubtless attached to Fursey's monastery, there is an earlier and smaller building at Cross, in Mayo, which was probably the saint's oratory when he was living a solitary life. It stands near the village of Cross, two miles from Cong. The greater part of the east wall and

¹ Miss Stokes, *Three Months in the Forests of France*, 141-142.

the window in the south wall remain, but three corbels formerly there have disappeared, while a carved figure mentioned by Sir Wm. Wilde is now in a stable wall of a deserted house close by.¹

Near Dundalk there is a memento of the saint in a second church called Killfursa.²

Dr. Graves, the Bishop of Limerick, has called attention to what he considers the remains of a school frequented by students in a group of ancient cells in Corkaguiny, in Kerry, where he read on one of two sculptured stones the name of Finlog, probably the grandfather of St. Fursey, so called, and on the other the Anglo-Saxon name Eadfrith, both written in oghams.³

116 . . . 1.—St. Fursey is said to have landed at Mayoc, at the mouth of the Somme, near Le Crotoy, and travelled through Picardy, where a plain formerly called Fors-hem preserved his name. It is now called Frohens-le-Grand, and it has a chapel called La Chapelle de St. Fursey, and his holy well.⁴ After some adventures he reached Péronne, where he was hospitably received by Erchenwald, and eventually settled among the secluded meadows of Lagny on the Marne, near Chelles, where Queen Bathildis had built her famous nunnery and where Fursey himself built a monastery with three attached chapels, one of which was called after him.⁵ Bishop Eligius, who translated his remains to a new shrine, was the famous goldsmith bishop generally known as St. Eloi, of whom I have said a good deal later on in the text.

116 . . . 24.—The name is really “Le mont des Cignes,” meaning Hill of the Swans. In the life of St. Cuanna (Colgan A. A. MSS., Feb. 4th) is a story in which we read that while that saint was once presiding over a conference of 1746 holy men in Fursey’s old foundation at Lough Corrib, a bell was seen in the air moving like a bird, and suspended over their heads. To the surprised assembly Cuanna explained that the bell belonged to St. Fursey, who had sent it as a token that he longed to be with them.⁶

The Abbey of St. Fursey at Péronne, founded by the saint, kept up its ties for a long time with Ireland. In the *Annals of the Four Masters*, under the year 774 we read: “Moinan, son

¹ Miss Stokes, *Three Months in the Forests of France*, 145.

² *Ib.* 153.

³ *Trans. Roy. Irish Acad.*, xxvii. 31, and iii. part ii.; Miss Stokes, *op. cit.* 152.

⁴ Miss Stokes, *op. cit.* 104–105, 175, and 177.

⁵ *Ib.* 102, note 109–110.

⁶ *Ib.* 102, note.

of Connar, Abbot of Cathair Fursa in France, died." One of the gates of Péronne is still called Porte de Brétagne; the town also has its Faubourg Brétagne. It is noteworthy that in its church was buried, on the 7th of October 929, one of the most forlorn of rulers, namely, Charles, styled the Simple, King of France. This old church was entirely destroyed at the Reformation, and the only things preserved were the relics of the saint, which remain there and are labelled "*Sacrae Reliquiae Sanct. Furaci Urbis Peronensis Patron.*"¹

At Lagny there are still the remains of the abbey founded by the "Mayor of the Palace," Erchenwald, in honour of the saint, and the ruins of the church still preserve his name. It was long presided over by Irish abbots and became a nursery of saints.²

"The memory of St. Fursey," says Miss Stokes, "is still honoured in the Irish Calendar of CEngus, the Martyrology of Donegal, the Martyrology of Tallaght, the Martyrology of Marianus O'Gorman, the Martyrology of Christ Church, Dublin, in the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Chronica Scotorum*, and in the *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*."³

In the Martyrology of Holy Trinity, Dublin, it is said of St. Fursey that his office was celebrated with nine lessons, and he is inscribed in the Carlovingian litanies under seven different dates.

The famous banner of Péronne, which was sadly damaged at the Revolution, is still preserved in the Hôtel de Ville of the town. On it St. Fursey is represented in the clouds sustaining the citizens in the famous siege of 1536. The chasuble and stole of the saint were formerly preserved at Lagny.

When he left Suffolk for France, Fursey, we are told, bequeathed his girdle to his monks, who are said to have folded some locks of his hair in it and then covered it with gold and precious stones and applied it for the cure of the sick.⁵

His attributes in art are a crown and sceptre; at his feet an angel, two oxen crouching, and occasionally a springing fountain.⁶

In a work by Guilhermy on the inscriptions of France from the fifth to the eighteenth centuries there is a description of an inscription on the great bell at St. Peter's of Lagny, with which St. Fursey had to do. It reads: "*J'ai été benite et nommée Furcy.*" It is dated 1669; while among the relics recorded as being in the church in 1018 was a bone of St. Eloi, who was styled on its label, "Disciple de St. Furcy." The fountain in the middle of

¹ Miss Stokes, *op. cit.* 192.

² *Ib.* 202.

³ *Ib.* 259 and 260.

⁴ *Ib.* 263.

⁵ *Ib.* 104.

⁶ *Ib.* 264.

the town is also said to have been the original well of St. Fursey.¹

121 . . . 2.—It was reported that he was buried in the Priory, the ivy-covered remainder of the successor of which remains at Blyborough. His tomb is still pointed out on the north side of the neighbouring church at Broad.²

121 . . . 4.—I am not now so sure about this, which is the generally received opinion. Bede nowhere tells us who Heresuitha married. He merely says she was the mother of Aldwulf and does not say who was his father. Florence of Worcester is our earliest authority for making him the son of Æthelhere, and he wrote in 1116. It is more likely that he was the son of Anna (for Æthelhere was a pagan), and, further, that Heresuitha was, in fact, Anna's wife.

121 . . . 7.—The *Book of Ely* says that Anna was first buried at Blideburge (*i.e.* Blyburgh, in Suffolk), and then removed to Bedrichsworda (*i.e.* Bury St. Edmunds), adding, “*ubi et Jurmanus filius, ad Bedrichsuordam translatus.*”³

Plummer says Wihtred's accession must be put in October, 690.

123 . . . 1.—It has been suggested in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. 2, 180, that Æthelfleda was the natural daughter of Oswy and full sister of King Aldfred.

128 . . . 27.—According to Nennius the treasure of Judeu was exacted by Penda from Oswy, who distributed it among the British princes, his allies.

132 . . . 1.—Dr. Bright says of Penda: “There is a sort of weird grandeur in the career of one who in his time slew five kings and might seem as irresistible as fate.”⁴

134 . . . 28.—It is well to remember that the first five bishops of Mercia were Celtic monks.

137 . . . 26.—Miss Arnold-Forster enumerates sixty-six churches dedicated to St. Botulf, or St. Botolph as he is sometimes called, of which four are in the city of London. It was reported of him⁵ that when he asked the King to give him land he begged that it might be “waste” and not be taken from his royal demesne. He is named among the presbyter abbots in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham.

¹ Miss Stokes, *op. cit.* 203.

² See *St. Edmund, King and Martyr*, by the Rev. J. P. Mackinley, O.S.B., 16.

³ *M.H.B.*, 190, note k.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 145.

⁵ See Mabillon, iii. 5, and William of Malmesbury, 133.

138 . . . 27.—Apropos of this, it must not be forgotten what a part the monks and hermits had in reclaiming the wilder districts of Northumbria, which civilisation and social life had as yet not visited at all. Green poetically describes the process in a single paragraph: "It broke the dreary line of the northern coast with settlements which proved forerunners of some of our busiest ports. It broke the silence of waste and moor by houses like those of Ripon and Laestingham, and it set agricultural colonies in the depths of vast woodlands, as at Evesham or Malmesbury, while by a chain of religious houses it made its way step by step into the heart of the fens."¹

138 . . . 6.—Green says the kings of Essex probably discarded their Christianity and their dependence on Kent at the same time.²

141 . . . 12.—Cedde and Ceadda have been often confounded in practice. Against this Fuller quaintly protests in the phrase, "Though it be pleasant for brothers to live together in unity, yet it is not fit that by error they should be jumbled together in confusion."

161 . . . 30.—Cudda occurs as the second name in the list of abbots in the *Liber Vitae*.

163 . . . 10.—Green reminds us that Benedict was then twenty-five and Wilfrid seventeen.

185 . . . 28.—Stevenson points out that a pressing reason for holding the Synod at this time, rather than a year later, was that the next year, 665, there would have been a whole week between the Roman and the Celtic Easter days.

186 . . . 16.—The presence of Bishop Cedde at the Synod of Whitby does not contravene this statement, since he was probably there as Abbot of Laestingham in Yorkshire.

187 . . . 26.—Æddi, with his usual inaccuracy, calls Colman "*Eboracae civitatis episcopus metropolitanus*." Perhaps this was a suggestion of Wilfrid's.

188 . . . 25.—It is strange that Agilberht, who had been a bishop in Wessex for some time, should not have been able to expound the orthodox view of Easter himself, for his name shows he belonged to a cognate race to the English.

196 . . . 4.—It is curious that Bede's two chapters dealing with this most important Synod of Whitby are left out in the Anglo-Saxon version, nor are they mentioned in the

¹ *Making of England*, 347.

² *Ib.* 299.

Capitula. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* also entirely ignores the synod.

204 . . . 27.—Among the presbyters mentioned in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham is a certain Tydi, by whom this Tuda is probably meant. Miss Arnold-Forster mentions a St. Tudy among the dedications of English churches.

213 . . . 3.—This shows that the West Welsh of Cornwall and Devon were much more friendly to the English than the Welsh of Wales.

222 . . . 24.—Alchfrid is named in the *Liber Vitae* immediately after his brother King Ecgfrid, and in it is followed by another brother Ælfwine, who was killed in a battle in Mercia.

225 . . . 18.—Bede was, like other historians, by no means free from mistakes. He was, in fact, human.

306 . . . 18.—The actual day of Theodore's arrival was 27th May, which in 669 was a Sunday.¹ It was the anniversary of the day on which he had set out.²

323 . . . 9.—It has been generally supposed that Agilberht on leaving Wessex went direct to Northumbria. This appears unlikely. He would seem rather to have first gone abroad, and probably went to Rome. When he presently attended the Synod of Whitby he probably did so as a representative of the Pope, and it is very likely that he was attended by Agatho as his assessor. As I have argued, this Agatho seems according to all probability to have been the person of the same name who presently became Pope. After the Synod Agilberht returned to France and became Bishop of Paris, and was accused of being the partisan and abettor of the worst acts of Ebroin, the major-domo, yet, says Plummer, he ranks as a saint.³

329 . . . 20.—The Hecanas are a somewhat ambiguous people. Their territory was probably coincident with the county of Hereford. Florence of Worcester identifies them with the Magesaetas.⁴ Kemble treats the latter as a section of the Hecanas.⁵

334 . . . 2.—Hugo Candidus, the historian of the Abbey of Peterborough, says that Saxwulf, having founded several monasteries, left the parent house in the care of a monk called Cuthbald. Cuthbald had founded a monastery with hermits'

¹ Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 205.

² *Op. cit.*; *H.E.*, iv. ch. 1.

³ *Bede*, ii. 203.

⁴ *M.H.B.*, 621.

⁵ *Hist. of the Saxons*, i. 80, 150; Stubbs's *Constitutional History of England*, i. 198; Bright, 207.

cells (*cum heremeticis cellulis*) at a place called Ancarig, afterwards Thorney, in Cambridgeshire.¹

337 . . . 17.—Plummer argues that Ecgfrid came to the throne in February 671, and not in 670, as has been thought.²

355 . . . 24.—It will be remembered that Theodore himself did not adopt this argument, but bases his objection to St. Chad's previous consecration on some fault in the form of consecration.

357 . . . 18.—Miss Arnold-Forster enumerates forty-five churches dedicated to him.³ She also mentions three parishes called after him, namely, St. Chad, Chadkirk, and Chadwell Heath. One of the townships in Rochdale parish in Lancashire is called Chadwick.

361 . . . 22.—In enumerating the virtues of St. Chad, Bede mentions one which I have omitted by mistake, thinking that "castitas" and "continentia" were a duplication of the same idea, but, as Mr. Plummer points out, "castitas" or "castus" was used by Bede as meaning not chastity but purity from error, that is, orthodoxy.⁴

364 . . . 6.—Even Æddi, who was an almost unscrupulous partisan of Wilfrid, speaks of St. Chad, whom he deems a usurper, as "*servum Dei religiosissimum et admirabilem doctorem.*"⁵

365 . . . 23.—There has been much exaggeration about the schools supposed to have been introduced by Augustine and his monks. We have no right to suppose that they had any other ideals than those of their master, Gregory, and he, we know, despised secular learning and entirely disapproved of the clergy teaching it. A notable example of his views on this subject is embodied in his very querulous letter to the Bishop of Vienne.⁶ Perhaps a better proof of the same prejudice is to be found in the astounding fact, as I have pointed out in his Life, that with all his opportunities the great Pope should never have taken the trouble to learn Greek, in which the best thought of the Old World was enshrined, and in which nearly all the theology of the earlier centuries of the Church was written.

We may be sure that his influence in these matters, at all events in Italy, was deplorable and widespread, and that his monks from St. Andrew's Monastery were deeply imbued with his retrograde views. We have no reason to believe that they were

¹ *Op. cit.* 292 and notes.

² *Op. cit.* ii. 358.

³ *Op. cit.* iii. 345.

⁴ *Bede,* ii. 199.

⁵ Ch. 14.

⁶ See Howorth, *Gregory the Great*, 177.

in any sense learned men. All that the Pope demanded from his pupils and protégés was sufficient learning for them to be able to read the Scriptures, the service-books, and the lives of saints, and to explain the elementary dogmas of the Christian faith; and, secondly, to be able to chant the psalter. We do not read anywhere of his patronage of libraries and schools, except choir schools. And we may be sure that his missionaries to England were in these matters even less enlightened than their master. Augustine's interrogatories to the Pope are a good proof of it. The only teaching traditionally associated with them and their scholars at Canterbury, Dunwich, and York was that which was preparatory to a clerical life, and the schools they alone founded, so far as the evidence goes, were seminary schools, and schools for teaching choir-boys and men. There is no evidence that at this time boys who were to have lay careers were ever taught in these schools. We have no reason to suppose that the Roman monks in England, until a later time, could communicate with their scholars without interpreters. They had no other language than Latin, and they probably despised the vernacular. It was very different with the Irish missionaries, who presently lighted a great lamp in Northumbria, and who came from a country then all afame with zeal for learning as well as religion. It would require a generation before English boys could, under these conditions, be adequately provided with teachers, and this perhaps accounts for no Englishman having become an Archbishop of Canterbury for a whole century.

It was not Augustine, but Wilfrid, Benedict Biscop, and Ceolfrid who first introduced the theories and discipline of the Benedictine Order into England, who, first among the champions of the Roman See, introduced letters and culture, in a real sense, into England, and it was still later that Theodore and Hadrian introduced true learning. The inspiration and training of the two latter was not Italian, where the arts and humanities were well-nigh dead. One came from Asia Minor and the other from Africa, where the influence of Gregory had not operated to blight all yearning for knowledge and culture in favour of mere pietism. Their theories were the antipodes of those of the author of the *Dialogues*. They came well endowed with the finest instrument available for producing learned men, namely, the Greek language, which opened the gateway to the best thought mankind had hitherto garnered, and they founded

a most notable school of learning in England which was for a while unmatched elsewhere.

Their task was a hard one, for the work had virtually to be started from the beginning. In France and Spain the old Roman tradition, although sadly shattered, had gone on continuously, and the old Roman city schools had gone on without a real break. The one thing which had disappeared, as it had gone in Italy and also in Spain, was a knowledge of Greek, otherwise the evidence goes to show that the teaching there was at this time little changed from that of the later Imperial time. In England this was entirely different. There was possibly a certain trace of Roman tradition in the municipal and administrative methods employed here, but this did not extend to schools.

383 . . . 29.—Florence says: “Wigornia during the time when the Britons and Romans reigned in Britain was and still is the famous metropolis of all Hwiccia and Magesetania. . . . It was now (*i.e.* when the Bishopric of Wigornia was founded) decked (*decorata*) with high walls and fortifications (*muris et moenibus*) and was much fairer and more sublime (*clarior atque sublimior*) than in his day.”¹

VOLUME II

26 . . . 26.—Somner identified Cloveshoe with Rochester.² Although it was especially fixed as the meeting-place of synods, we do not find that Theodore's two synods met there, unless Herutford was deemed to be virtually the same place.

29 . . . 19.—It is well to note the exact words used: “*Nonum capitulum in commune tractatum est. Ut plures episcopi, crescente numero fidelium augerentur; sed de hac re ad praesens siluimus.*”³

31 . . . 28.—Coinwalch's alleged brother, Edelwine, or Ethelwine, was venerated at Athelney. As Plummer says, he was probably a myth created by an attempt to explain that name as Æðelwine's, or Ethelwine's, island.⁴

32 . . . 21.—The *Annales Lindisfarnenses et Cantuarienses* give the exact date of King Ecgberht's death, namely, “iv. Non Jul.,” *i.e.* 4th July.⁵

33 . . . 1.—The Bishop of Lichfield, called Wynfrid by Bede, is called Wulfred in one MS. of Æddi.⁶

¹ *M.H.B.*, 622.

² *Ib.* 216.

³ *Bede*, iv. ch. 5.

⁴ William of Malmesbury, 190; Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 143.

⁵ See Pertz, iv. 2.

⁶ Ch. 25.

33 . . . 25.—Bede does not mention Wynfrid's journey abroad. There is some difficulty about his chronology.¹

35 . . . 20.—His wife was Eormengilda, daughter of King Earconberht of Kent.²

36 . . . 21.—Montalembert compares St. Etheldrytha's conduct to that of St. Radegunda toward King Chlothaire, who found he had married a nun and not a queen : “*Dicebat se habere jugalem monacham, non reginam.*”

37 . . . 13.—Wilfrid's conduct in this matter apparently had the countenance of Bede.³ It was entirely contrary to the teaching of St. Columba, who forbade a wife to go into a monastery, quoting Rom. vii. 2 and Matt. xix. 6.⁴ St. Gregory was very emphatic on the subject. He declared that a dissolution of marriage, *religionis causa*, though allowed by the human law, was forbidden by the Divine, quoting the same passage from St. Matthew.⁵

38 . . . 22.—She was possibly the princess of the same name who had previously married Merwald, Prince of the Hwiccas.

53 . . . 21.—Montalembert speaks of Bosa very unfairly as “This intruder among English monks.”⁶ Bede calls him “*Deo dilectus et sanctissimus.*”⁷

54 . . . 7.—It is most noteworthy in view of later controversies that Theodore consecrated three bishops alone—“*inordinate solus ordinavit.*”⁸

58 . . . 12.—Deodato was Bishop of Toul from 679 to 680.

58 . . . 20.—Paul the Deacon speaks of him as “*justiciae tenax mitis per omnia et suavis.*”⁹ He had once been on the point of taking shelter in Britain. The wife of his son Cunincpert was an Englishwoman. Hodgkin (vi. 305, note) says : “Ecgberht, King of Kent from 664–673, had a sister Eormengild who married the King of Mercia. In the family of his uncle Eormenred, all the daughters' names began with *Æthel*. From one of these families might well spring Eormelind or Hermelinda,” of whom Paul the Deacon says : “*Cunincpert rex Hermelinda ex Saxonum Anglorum genere, duxit uxoram.*” The use of the phrase *Saxonum Anglorum* here is notable. Cunincpert was visited by Caedwalla the Wessex king on his journey to Rome.¹⁰

70 . . . 17.—In reporting the doings of the Synod at Rome, Bede incidentally tells us what was the theory then prevalent as to

¹ See Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 216.

² Florence of Worcester, *M.H.B.*, 635, etc.

³ iv. 19. *See *Vit. Ad.*, ii. 41.

⁵ Vide *Ep.* xl. 45; Bright, 287, note 2.

⁶ iv. 31, note.

⁷ v. 20.

⁸ *Æddi*, ch. 24.

⁹ Paul Diac., *Lang.*, v. 33–37.

¹⁰ Hodgkin, vi. 15.

the position of the bishops at such synods or councils. He says that when Wilfrid had taken his seat among the other bishops he was called upon to declare his faith and that of the island or province whence he came. When he and his brethren had been found orthodox, the fact was recorded among the Acts of the Synod. The orthodoxy of each bishop was clearly judged therefore by the opinion of the majority, and would be conclusive as to his right to vote or not. It was easy enough to secure unanimity in this fashion.

90 . . . 14.—The bishop who waylaid Wilfrid in France was, according to Mabillon, Waimar, Duke of Champagne, who was made Bishop of Troyes by Ebroin to reward his services against St. Leger.¹

109 . . . 22.—On the other hand, Bede in his *Lives of the Abbots* calls him "most venerable and pious."

112 . . . 25.—Hodgkin apostrophises the Andredes-wood as "that dark impenetrable wood which yielded in later ages to the axes of the charcoal-burners of Essex and of Kent."

113 . . . 27.—The name spelt Æthelwalch by Bede is spelt Æthelwald elsewhere.

121 . . . 7.—The *Abingdon Chronicle* says the black cross was found with other traces of British Christianity at Sheovesham, which it describes as "*civitas famosa . . . divities plena*," and which was surrounded by broad green meadows. Of this cross it says that no one could profane it by perjury without imperilling his life.²

133 . . . 4.—If we are to believe Wilfrid's panegyrist and biographer, Æddi, Caedwalla was actually invited to invade Sussex. His words: "*Nam sanctus antistes Christi . . . saepe anxiatum exulem adjuvavit . . . usquedum . . . regnum adeptus est . . . Regnante Caedwalla, Occidentalium Saxonum regionis monarchiam tenens statim . . . Sanctum Wilfridum . . . ad se . . . accersivit . . . Venerabili patre veniente, rex Caedwalla . . . in omni regus suo excelsum consiliarium mox illum composuit.*"³

141 . . . 15.—Stevenson says these white chrismal robes were worn until the first Sunday after Easter, which was thence known as "*Dominica albis.*"⁴

156 . . . 23.—After "sixteenth" add "and seventeenth." Bede seems to imply that he himself wrote an epitome of the book.⁵

¹ Montalembert, iv. 270, note.

² *Op. cit.* ii. 269.

³ *Op. cit.* ch. 42.

⁴ Stevenson, *Bede*, 499.

⁵ See v. ch. 17, *ad finem*.

161 . . . 27.—As Montalembert says, there are no traces of the Roman or Byzantine law in Theodore's *Penitential*. It embodies the penal code of the Germans, founded on the principle that requires a punishment for every offence or a compensation for every punishment.¹ According to Godwin, *de Præsulibus*, p. 41, Theodore brought a copy of Homer with him, which he continually read, and which was much admired by his ecclesiastical descendants.

168 . . . 13.—When the tomb of Archbishop Theodore was opened in 1091 remains were found of all his episcopal ornaments and also of his pallium. On his head had been placed a monk's hood.²

168 . . . 27.—It is also notable that the first seven Archbishops of Canterbury were all monks.

197 . . . 34.—Montalembert reminds us that "Oswy took his daughter Ælfleda from the caresses of her mother to entrust her, not, as might have been supposed, to his sister, the Abbess Æbba of Coldingham, but to Hilda, a princess of a rival dynasty, who nearly ten years before had been initiated into monastic life by Abbot Aidan."³

201 . . . 16.—Two miles nearer Oxford than the present Abingdon.⁴

249 . . . 9.—Among Wilfrid's opponents St. Hilda was prominent. Malmesbury says of them: "illi viri quo os sanctissimos celebrat antiquitas, Theodorus, Berhtwaldus, Johannes, Bosa necnon et Hilda abbatissa, digladiabili odio impetierunt Wilfridum Deo ut ex antedictis probatur, acceptissimum."⁵

Cuthberht, a typical saint, as well as Abbot Benedict Biscop, rejected the claims of Wilfrid. In his account of the latter, Bede speaks in warm admiration of the kings who expelled him, and never disapproves of the so-called usurping bishops.⁶

251 . . . 6.—Æddi's phrase in regard to this matter is plain. He tells us Wilfrid returned from exile "cum filio suo proprio, veniens de Hrypis."⁷ In another chapter (18) he speaks of another boy who was called Eadwald, who died of the plague at Ripon (*in Dei servitio ad Hrypis*, i.e. in Wilfrid's own monastery), as "filius episcopi," or son of the Bishop, which is equally plain.

¹ *Op. cit.* v. 208.

² Jocelyn, *Vit.*; *vide* Smith's *Bede*, 189; Lingard, ii. 49, note.

³ *Op. cit.* iv. 120.

⁴ Bright, 298, note.

⁵ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pont.*, iii. 107.

⁶ Plummer, ii. 316.

⁷ *Vide ch.* 59.

258 . . . 13.—Stevenson suggests that Torthelm was probably one of those who, as Bede testifies (iii. 8), had gone from Britain to Gaul to study because the facilities were greater there.

258 . . . 15.—“*Architectus*” is the word used in the Anonymous *Hist. of the Abbots*; in Bede’s work on the abbots they are called “*Cementarii*.” The word is translated “handicraftsmen in stone” in the Anglo-Saxon version.

272 . . . 29.—The English glass-makers were not long in forgetting the lessons they had learnt, for in a letter of Cuthberht, Abbot of Wearmouth, written to Lullus, the Archbishop of Mainz, he asked him to send him some artificers who could make good glass vessels, for his people were ignorant of the art. “*Si aliquis homo in tua sit parrochia, qui vitreavasa bene possit facere, mihi mittere digneris. Aut, si fortasse ultra fines est in potestate cuiusdam alterius, sine tua parrochia, rogo ut fraternitas tua illi suadeat, ut ad nos usque perveniat, quia ejusdem ignari et inopes sumus.*”¹

273 . . . 10.—It was on this occasion that he was accompanied to Italy by his friend Ceolfrid. There they were honourably received by Pope Agatho,² who, as we have seen, had himself probably visited England. This could not have taken place before the summer of 678, since Agatho was not consecrated till June or July of that year, although Florence of Worcester gives the date as 676. They returned to England in 679 or 680.

275 . . . 18.—Bede defended the use of pictures against the iconoclasts. Thus, in his homily on Solomon’s Temple, he urges that if the serpent was raised up in the wilderness, why should not Christ on His cross be also raised up? “*Ad memoriam fidelibus depingendo reduci, vel alia ejus miracula . . . cum horum aspectus saepe multum compunctionis soleat praestare contuentibus, ut eis quoque, qui litteras ignorant, quasi vivam Dominicae historiae pandere lectionem.*” His conclusion is “*non . . . imagines rerum . . . facere sed . . . idolatriae gratia facere . . . esse prohibitum.*”³ And he speaks of the artificers among the people of God as skilled in all kinds of work in copper (*aeris*), iron, gold, and silver, and as having been engaged in ornamenting the tabernacle. Similarly we find Alcuin, in 790, asking a correspondent to send him “*pigmenta multa de sulfure bene et coloribus ad picturas.*”⁴

277 . . . 16.—This name is derived from Gyruy, a marsh

¹ Dümmler, *Epp. Merov. et Karoling. Aevi*, 406.

² Bede, *Hist. Abb.*, vi. ³ Opp., viii. 336–37; Plummer, ii. 360.

⁴ *Mon. Alc.*, p. 170; Plummer, *ib.*

(hence the Gyrvians in Cambridgeshire). Here, however, says Dr. Bright, it denoted the "slake" or smooth bay where the King's ships were wont to ride at anchor. "*Wira . . . qui . . . naves serena invectas, aura placidi ostii excipit gremio.*"¹ It was situated at the confluence of the rivers Don and Tyne, and was afterwards known as the Port of King Ecgfrid.²

277 . . . 17.—There is a contradiction here between the anonymous work on the Abbots and Bede's corresponding production, caused by some mistake. The former says there were twenty-two monks at Jarrow when it was founded, while the earlier work says there were only seventeen. The former also adds that Ecgfrid marked out the spot where the altar was to be placed.³

303 . . . 2.—Benedict Biscop also warned his monks against the practice, then becoming frequent, of appointing men as abbots on account of their high birth rather than their character.

305 . . . 1.—The translation of Eosterwyn and Sigfrid and the burial of Witmar took place in August 716.

311 . . . 18.—Nechtan or Naiton was the son of Derili and brother of Brude, whom he succeeded in 706.⁴ In 724 he was tonsured, probably involuntarily, and in 726 was imprisoned by his rival Drust. In 728 he recovered a part of his kingdom. In 729 he was badly defeated by Angus, King of the Scots, of Fortrenn, and died in 732. These dates are from Tighearnach.⁵

316 . . . 26.—The Britons of Wales did not conform in the matter of Easter till the middle of the eighth century, and the controversy lasted among them till the ninth century.⁶

319 . . . 23.—The words are "*de Saxonia*," and the use of the name is singular, since Northumbria was so typically Anglian.

321 . . . 27.—This is a mistake. Instead of "rather than" read "although." Alcuin has the same thought in addressing the monks at Wearmouth: "*Patribus oboedite vestris . . . adolescentulos bene docete, ut habeatis qui super sepulcra vestra stare possint et intercedere pro animabus vestris.*"⁷ Mr. Plummer thus aptly quotes Tennyson's lines:—

"I go to plant it on his tomb,
That if it can it there may bloom,
Or dying, there at least may die."⁸

¹ *Op. cit.* 365; Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, i. 3.

² *Sym. Durh.*, i. p. 51.

⁴ *Tighernach, sub an.*

⁶ *Ib.* ii. 301.

⁷ *Mon. Alc.*, p. 843.

³ Plummer, ii. 361.

⁵ See Plummer, ii. 331.

⁸ Plummer, ii. 180.

321.—Ceolfrid was seventy-four when he died, and must therefore have been thirty-six when he went to Rome.

329 . . . 11.—Bede, in his "Ages of the World," calls the Quinisext Council the "erratic synod which Justinian summoned at Constantinople" (*erratica synodo quam . . . fecerat*).¹

350 . . . 25.—Dr. Bright suggests that these letters of Sergius were forged in order to magnify the archbishopric in connection with Rome.

360 . . . 10.—I find that I had been forestalled in this view by William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Regum*. Montalembert also says Beorhtwald was descended from the dynasty which reigned in Mercia, and was the first of the reign of Odin who took his place among the successors of the apostles.²

374 . . . 10.—The Anglo-Saxon version calls him Beard-sachna Abbot.

377 . . . 29.—Offa, although not called King of Essex in the text of Bede, is so called in the *Capitula*. William of Malmesbury, who probably had no more knowledge than we have, says he reigned for a short time. If he did so it must have been a little before 709. On going to Rome he left his wife (*relinquit uxorem*).³ On his arriving there he was tonsured, and soon after died. At that time Constantine was Pope.⁴ The fact is mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* under the heading of Pope Constantine, where we read: "*Hujus temporibus duo reges Saxonum ad orationem apostolorum cum aliis pluribus venientes sub velocitate suam vitam, ut obiabant finierunt.*"⁵ The entry is copied by Paul the Deacon.⁶

379 . . . 14 and 15.—Here, as on the dedication-stone of the monastery at Jarrow, the foundation of the abbey is attributed to Ceolfrid, "*juvante Benedicto.*" Alcuin in one of his letters counsels the brethren in his monasteries to regularly read the rule of St. Benedict, as well as to have it expounded, pointing to the fact that all the monks did not know Latin. There seems to then have been an oratory in the dormitory at Jarrow,⁷ and Plummer quotes a parallel case at St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester.⁸

381 . . . 3.—Æthelbald succeeded to the throne in 716, since Bede says that 731 was the fifteenth year of his

¹ Smith's *Bede*, 31.

² *Op. cit.* iv. 310.

³ *Bede*, v. 19.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ *Op. cit.* (ed. Mommsen), 225.

⁶ *Hist. Lang.*, vi. 28.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 17.

⁸ *Op. cit.* ii. 367.

reign.¹ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (*sub an.* 716) says he reigned twelve years. He was buried at Repton.

386 . . . 21.—Since this part of the text was in print, I have come across a paper by Dean Spence of Gloucester, which is buried in a periodical, now no more, called *Good Words*.² In it he describes the rediscovery of Osric's coffin. It was found enclosed in a fine tomb which was placed on the right of the high altar. It has an elaborate canopy covering a royal effigy representing an old man with a flowing beard and having on his hand a model of the Abbey of Gloucester, and is inscribed with black characters partly effaced, but corresponding to the epitaph given by Leland, except that it is dated 681. The tomb was erected by the last Abbot of Gloucester called Maban, and is stamped with his arms.

It was opened on the 7th of January 1892. On removing two panels from its south side a long leaden coffin was disclosed, the upper end of which had been crushed. Some bones and grey dust were seen, but these were not disturbed. This was a pity, I think, for it might have, and probably did, contain some objects of the highest interest to the archaeologist, and would have done no harm to the Royal dust. Art remains of that date are very rare, and this is the only very early Royal coffin which remains intact.

408 . . . 17.—My learned friend, the late C. Elton, in *English Origins*, 379, says: "Great numbers of Britons seem to have taken refuge in the wild fens."

426 . . . 24.—If the plague which broke out at Barking, as described in the first Appendix, was the outbreak of 664, it will, as has been urged, put back the date of the building of the nunnery to an earlier date than has been supposed.

444 . . . 9.—The fixing of the date of its foundation depends upon the events in the life of Boniface. He was killed in 755 when he was about seventy-five years old. This puts his birth about the year 680.

455 . . . 21.—His biographer, Faricius, tells us that Aldhelm could write and speak the Greek language like a native of Greece, and this we should expect from a scholar and a disciple of two such men as Theodore and Hadrian. His Latin style is overloaded with Greek words and idioms. Dr. Bright quotes *doxa, sophia, kata* among these, and he adds a curious statement,

¹ *Op. cit.* v. 24.

² 1892, pp. 388-395.

namely, that a similar Græcising affectation characterises the language of many of the Anglo-Saxon charters, e.g. *kyrius*, *archon*, *taumate*, *agie*, *catascopus*, etc.¹

Faricius says again that he excelled all Latin scholars since the days of Virgil (!!). It would seem, in fact, that his overloaded and turgid style rather attracted the scholars of the twelfth century, for William of Malmesbury speaks of it as combining the excellencies of English, Greek, and Latin. He speaks of its *pompositas*, by which, as Mr. Wildman says, he does not mean its pomposity, but its dignified and stately character, a description approved by him. "Difficult," he says, "as it sometimes is to construe, it moves with a magnificent swing, like the march of a battalion of the Guards."²

Faricius further tells us, and it is curious if true, that he knew Hebrew and read the prophets, the psalms of David; the works of Solomon, and the law of Moses in that tongue.

King Alfred speaks in high terms of his poems in the vernacular, which he puts at the head of all English poetry. Alas ! these have apparently all perished. He wrote a treatise on metrical rules for Latin poetry, and was also a proficient musician.

In regard to the subjects of which he showed some knowledge, we may mention rhetoric, of which he, however, had only studied the tropes.

There is no proof that he had studied dialectics, although he names it among the seven Arts. In his letter to Hæddi, Aldhelm speaks of his studies in law and in calculation. By law, according to M. Roger, he means the divine law. He quotes a passage, from his work in praise of Virgins, where he speaks of the *Arcana legum* as equivalent to the laws of Moses, thus following the example of Isidore. On the other hand, as Lingard says, Bede, a generation later, in his Chronicle, speaks of the Code of Justinian as well known to his countrymen,³ and M. Roger reminds us that probably in England as in Gaul (and he may have added Spain) the clergy took a prominent share in legislation and administration, and some knowledge of Roman law would therefore be considered as part of the equipment of a learned man.⁴

By arithmetic and astronomy (which he distinguishes from

¹ *Op. cit.* 296, note.

² *Op. cit.* 123.

³ Smith's *Bede*, p. 28.

⁴ Roger, *L'enseignement des Lettres Classiques*, p. 293.

astrology), Aldhelm doubtless meant the *astronomiae et arithmeticæ ecclesiasticae disciplina* which Hadrian, according to Bede, had taught.¹

In dealing with his Latin style, we must distinguish the poet and the prose writer. First, in regard to his prose. His claim to have been the first of Englishmen to practise the art of Latin composition in prose and verse was not unreasonable, and he might have been, and probably was (like most poets are prone to be), a little self-conscious. One of his own lines which he is fond of quoting, is repeated in five of his compositions. In it he apostrophises St. Peter as "*Claviger aetherius qui portam pandit in aethra*," i.e. "Key-bearer of heaven who opens the way to the skies."²

458 . . . 13.—Æthelwald gives a glowing description of Aldhelm, beginning :

“*Vale vale, fidissime
Phile Christo carissime
Quem in cordis cubiculo
Cingo amoris vinculo.*”

It describes Aldhelm as of virile shape and sage in deed and word, of noble race and dignified stature, agile, with white or bright hair (*caput candescens crinibus*), keen eyes, red cheeks, excellent bearing, wonderful hands, graceful and strong legs (*tibiae cursu teretes*), and he ends by wishing him a happy life under God's protection here, and everlasting joy in the next world.³

462 . . . 20.—Bugga's church is said to have been at Withington in Gloucestershire, near Malmesbury.

464 . . . 5.—In this poem, *de Laudibus Virginis*, he thus describes an organ :

¹ We must always remember, however, that his various studies, and notably those among the classical authors, were not inspired by any love of the matter of their contents. It was in order to enable him better to study the Bible that he took this pains. In writing to his pupil Æthelwald, he pressed on him that the only use of secular learning was to illuminate that which was divine. Of science or true learning he had very little. We must not wonder, says Dr. Bright, at his believing that St. Clement of Rome wrote the *Itinerarium Petri*, that Pope Silvester bound a pestilent serpent, or that Constantine was cured of leprosy by being baptized (Bright, 294).

² It occurs in his poem on the altars of the Virgin and the Apostles, in that written in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, in his letter to Acircius, and he offers it as a specimen in his poem on Virginity addressed to the Nuns of Barking (see Browne, *op. cit.* 333 and 334).

³ Giles, *Ald. Opp.*, 113.

*"Si vero quisquam chordarum respuit odas,
Et cantu gracili refugit contentus adesse
Maxima millenis auscultans organa flabris
Mulceat auditum ventosis follibus iste,
Quamlibet auratis fulgescant cetera capsis."*

He was himself a skilful lute player, and he seems to be sarcastic about those who are not content with the "graceful musick of stringed instruments," but prefer to "soothe their ears with the blasts of the great organs with their gusty bellows and thousand pipes glittering in their gilded cases."¹

467 . . . *passim*.—It is easy to criticise all this, but we forget in doing so that what we call style or taste (and simplicity and naturalness are two prominent elements in it) is the growth of culture, and is not a spontaneous gift. When Hindoos and Japanese first come face to face with Western thought and the contents of Western knowledge, and they attempt to write English, it is just as pedantic and artificial and involved. The prose of Henry the Eighth's time, and perhaps still more that of the late seventeenth century, is much of it loaded with the same dead weight of false ornament, and we must remember what it must have been for an Anglo-Saxon from the wilds of Wessex to come in contact with all the available contents of Latin and Greek and Hebrew learning, and then to set to work, in what to him was a foreign tongue, to try and pour out the golden grain again for his spiritual and secular children. He naturally used up a large number of allusions which were new to his readers, and sounded very learned. His correspondents wrote more or less in the same style. The play upon words in measured lines was an amusement in earlier times than Aldhelm's, and Mr. Wildman quotes two notable lines from Sidonius Apollinaris. One is very ingenious; it reads exactly alike backwards and forwards:

"Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor."

A second one is not so good, because it contains a false quantity and a hiatus, and has no satisfactory meaning:

"Sole medere pede ede perede melos."

Although Aldhelm was the first Englishman to introduce this inflated and artificial style in Latin, it is pretty clear he did not invent it. Haddan long ago pointed out that even he does not

¹ Aldhelm's Works, by Giles, 107, 108.

use it, at least to the same extent, in all his writings, and chiefly reserves it for "Irish friends or pupils from Ireland," such as Eahfrid. Quite lately M. Roger has shown that it came in fact from Irish and Welsh models, like the *Hisperica Famina*, or British ones, as was also the case with the *Lorica* of Bede.

Thus he says: ". . . En lisant l'épître à Eahfrid, on se demande d'abord si ce n'est pas une plaisanterie, quelque chose comme le chapitre où Rabelais raille les latiniseurs de son temps. Peut-être Aldhelm a-t-il voulu, écrivant à un homme qui étudiait en Irlande, montrer qu'on pouvait posséder un beau style sans avoir entrepris ce voyage. . . . Peut-être aussi l'école littéraire qui avait produit les *Hisperica Famina* avait-elle des admirateurs qu'Aldhelm eut le désir de satisfaire. Toujours est-il que cette lettre diffère sensiblement du reste de son œuvre. Les lettres à Geronte, à Hæddi, à un clerc de Wilfrid sont tout à fait intelligibles. Aldhelm lui-même nous a confié qu'il avait deux styles : quand il était pressé il écrivait vite, sans écarter du sujet (*cursim pedetemptim*), dans le cas contraire il se laissait entraîner par la douceur du bavardage (*garrulo verbositas strepitū*)."¹

Aldhelm created a certain number of new words, but not many. M. Roger has collected a group of them.² His style abounds in Hellenisms and in unaltered Greek words, sometimes written in Greek letters, as in the phrase, "*ad doxam onomatis* (= *tos*) *Kyrie*."

The wealth of his vocabulary and the number of his synonyms are amazing. Turning to his poetry, it is remarkable, as M. Roger has pointed out, that the defects so patent in Aldhelm's prose style should be much less obvious in his poetry. He explains this very neatly in the following sentences: "Il semblerait que les libertés du langage poétique et la faculté d'employer des images offraient, à la subtilité d'Aldhelm, une matière plus riche encore que la prose. Pourtant, ses vers sont la partie de son œuvre la plus intelligible. C'est qu'ici, il a été mieux guidé dans le choix de ses modèles, et surtout qu'il a été contraint à plus de retenue par son inexpérience."³ In his treatise on the art of poetry he quotes freely from ancient models as examples, while in his own practice he relies more on the Christian poets. He was especially troubled by the difficulties of "quantity" in versification, and by Latin syntax as compared with his own. Latin to him was a new tongue, so that he was not like the Franks and Visigoths, with whom Latin was passing into a jargon, and among whom the writers

¹ *Op. cit.* 295.

² *Ib.* 296, note.

³ *Ib.* 297.

had to unlearn a barbarous decaying language if they were to acquit themselves well in writing Latin. As M. Roger says, the monks of Malmesbury and Jarrow had as their mother tongue a parody of the language which they had to learn. He was, however, troubled by the fact that the sense of quantity was not known in his own speech, for its poetry was one of rhythm, which had imposed itself upon the Latin hymns in the Church, and which would have been anathema to the poets of the Golden Age, and he also introduced it in a different way, namely, by a recurrence of accent at certain intervals in the lines. It was the restraint imposed by these difficulties that probably caused Aldhelm to write a much better and simpler style in verse than in prose. In writing to Hæddi he speaks of the difficulty of writing poetry. A large part of his own prose vocabulary to which older poets had not assigned quantity was banished from his verse. In addition to which it was not possible to force a good many abstract terms, Hellenisms, and compound words into hexameters.

473 . . . 20.—These verses on St. Peter and St. Paul are twenty-one in number. They comprise nine also contained in the much larger poem on Bugga's basilica, which Mr. Wildman therefore deems to be earlier. In the latter poem King Caedwalla is mentioned as recently dead, so that it was written probably about 690. It must have been composed before that year, so also for the same reason must Æthelwald's letter and Aldhelm's answer. See also his letter to Osgith.

474 . . . 9.—Cellan calls him Archimandrite (abbot), and he had ceased to be Abbot and become Bishop in 705.

477 . . . 9.—In his letter to Eahfrid¹ Aldhelm quotes some lines from his own tract on Virginity. He also speaks in it of Theodore as still living, though he is also referred to as "*beatae memoriae*," and as Theodore died in 690, it proves that all the treatise on Virginity was finished before 690, and possibly some time before.

494 . . . 25.—His health was doubtless injured by his austerities, and, as in other cases, he was prone to exaggerations. Thus William of Malmesbury tells us that in order to check the temptations of the flesh he used to submerge himself in a well near the monastery both winter and summer, while he sang the Hours. The well was afterwards called after him, as another well was called after Bishop Daniel.² Malmesbury also puts it to his credit that in order to preserve his chastity he did not

¹ *Ante*, ii. 465, 466.

² *Gesta Pont.*, 357.

seclude himself as others did from the society of women, but he took other precautions, showing what straits the unnatural celibate life imposes on saints by enhancing libidinous thoughts. (*Immo vero vel assidens vel cubitans aliquam detinebat; quoad carnis tepescente lubrico, quieto et immoto discederet animo. Derideri se videbat Diabolus, cernens adherentem foeminam virumque, alias avocato animo, insistentem cantando Psalterio. Valefaciebat ille mulieri salvo pudore, illasa castitate. Residebat carnis incommodum; dolebat nequam spiritus de se agitati ludibrium.*)¹

When writing the life of Aldhelm in an earlier page² I postponed an appreciation of his mental gifts to a later opportunity, and feel constrained, therefore, to devote a few paragraphs to them here.

When we measure his literary position we must remember that he was the very first Saxon, as far as we know, who was a scholar and literary man in our sense of the word. He was the beginner and fountain source of the long stream of scholars who have since so abundantly flourished in these realms: this he claims for himself. "No one," he says, "sprung from our stock, and born of German blood, has before our mediocre work done this kind of thing" (*quanto constat neminem nostrae stirpis prosapia genitum, et Germanicae gentis cunabulis confotum, in hujusmodi negotio ante nostram mediocritatem tantopere desudasse.*)³ This not only in Latin prose compositions but in verse also. And thus he applies to himself Virgil's own lines:

"Primus ego in patriam mecum (modo vita supersit).
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas
Primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua palmas."⁴

This must be remembered when we criticise his prose style, which is full of the most pompous, elaborate, and loaded rhetoric. His sentences seem "frozen with pedantic formalism," says one critic. He literally chokes the narrative with his images and metaphors, and delights in "literary sleight of hand, in acrostics, in enigmas, in alliterations, in a play upon words, and a childish and grotesque redundancy of expression." Lingard, another critic, says of him and his scholars: "They looked upon simplicity as a fault. Their object was to surprise and dazzle. They transferred to their Latin prose all the gorgeous apparatus of their national poetry, bewildered themselves and their readers

¹ *Gesta Pont.*, 358.

² *Ante*, ii. 486.

³ *Epist. ad Acircium*, ed. Giles, 327.

⁴ *Ib.*

amidst a profusion of extravagant metaphors, and, as if the language of Rome was too poor to depict their conceptions, bespangled every sentence with Greek words in a Latin dress.”¹ “His language,” says Haddan, “for enigmatic erudition and artificial rhetoric, rivals Armado and Holophernes, or Euphues.”² Of this school of writers in England Aldhelm was the leader, the past master.

“Never content with illustrating his sentiment by an adapted simile, he is perpetually abandoning his subject to pursue his imagery. He illustrates his illustrations till he has forgotten both their meaning and applicability. Hence his style is an endless tissue of figures which he never leaves till he has converted every metaphor into a simile and every simile into a wearisome episode. . . . His imagery was valued for its minuteness, although usually unnecessary to its subject, . . . and yet as these long details contained considerable information for an uncultivated mind, and sometimes presented pictures which in a poem might not have been uninteresting, it was read with curiosity and praised with enthusiasm. Sharon Turner argues (I think justly) that the violence and exuberance of his metaphors and images was largely derived from similar features in Northern poetry to which they were natural.”³

Involved, pompous, and parenthetical as his prose style is, it is yet remarkable what a rich vocabulary and what dexterous employment of idioms it also implies.

Among his own works Aldhelm probably valued most what had cost him the most labour, namely, his work on the metrical art and on versification. When he was at school at Canterbury he tells us how he studied this art, which was apparently a prominent feature of the school curriculum, as it has been until lately in our grammar schools. He tells us how elaborately the art of versification was, in fact, taught: “*Poetica septenaria divisionis disciplina, hoc est, acephalas, procilas cum ceteris qualiter varietur, qui versus monostemi, qui pentastemi, qui decastemi certa pedum mensura terminentur; et qua ratione catalecticci et brachyacatalecticci seu ipse ipercatalecticci versus sagace argumentatione colligantur.*”

How this was taught without special handbooks and other apparatus is hard to imagine. It would seem that Aldhelm was determined that the ingenuous youth of England should travel an

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. 152.

² *Remains*, 267.

³ *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, iii. 403, 404.

easier road than he had had to travel himself, and he made up his mind to write a manual or guide-book for the purpose. He does so on a very elaborate scale, elaborating minute details of grammar, prosody, and metrical rules, and quoting Virgil very frequently, Ovid twenty-six times, and Lucan often, Persius and Terence, Horace and Juvenal as his models.

In dealing with the life of Aldhelm in the text I postponed to a later page the consideration of his treatment of Latin poetry, in which he was a remarkable innovator. This subject he discusses in his well-known treatise addressed to his friend, King Alchfred of Northumbria, whom he styles Acircius, and which he otherwise calls "*Liber de Septenario et de metris aenigmatibus ac pedum regulis.*" In the first section of the book, which is very irrelevant to his main subject, allusion is made to the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit and to the Seven Sacraments. Aldhelm then plunges into a discussion on the importance of the number seven. He goes through the records of the Old and New Testaments to prove his case, and in some cases reaches ingenious if not profitable results. Thus he points out that there are seven petitions in the Lord's Prayer, and eleven times seven generations in the pedigree of Jesus as given by St. Luke.

A large part of the work is devoted to an elaborate account of the various kinds of metrical poetry,—that is, the poetry of metre, such as hexameters, iambics, trochaics, etc.,—with a dissection of the laws of metre and their application. This analysis he pursues at great length with considerable skill and minuteness, following the method and the results of the older Latin grammarians, and giving numerous illustrative examples, some of which are telling. Thus in bidding his pupil distinguish between *carex* (a sedge or rush) and *carica* (a dried fig), he mentions the confusion caused by a writer who told how a hermit in the East sustained his exhausted limbs by eating five rushes a day, as though he were a fasting ox or stag, while all the time he really meant that the poor man lived on five figs. He points out that in the word *conjunx* the letter *n* only occurs in the nominative and vocative singular, and bids him distinguish between *sedeo* with short *e* and *sede* with a long one, and *liquor* and *nitor* in one verse having a long vowel and in another a short one; but he sometimes makes mistakes.

Occasionally he is much puzzled how to get Latin names into his lines without metrical breaches; thus he converts the name of the nun Eustochia into Eustochium, using the former in his

prose and the latter in his verse. The name Chionia, says Bishop Browne, seems to have been too much for him. He evades the difficulty by saying of her and her sisters Irene and Agape, "*Quarum per prosam descripsi nomina dudum.*" The sister of Rufina is not directly mentioned by him in his verse. He evades his difficulty here by referring to her as *aetate secunda*.¹

Having described in narrative form the varieties of metre and various critical matters referring to it, he adopts a form of dialogue in which a disciple puts questions and the master replies—thus :

D. What is an acephalan?

M. A verse without a head, where the first syllable is short, contrary to the nature of the verse.

D. Give me an authoritative example.

M. In the second verse of the *Aeneid* Virgil has placed an acephalan, thus "*Italiā fato profugus,*" and sanctions a barbarism by using a tribrach for a dactyl. And so on.

In another part of his work Aldhelm discusses phonology in an elementary way, and distinguishes what he calls the articulate speech of man from the inarticulate in animals. Again asked by his pupil how he would describe the speech of animals, he says : Bees, *ambizant* or *bombizant*; birds, *minuriunt* or *uernant* or *uernicant*; asses, *oncant* or *rudiunt*; horses, *hinniunt*; a jug when water is poured from it, *bibilit*; hens, *cacillant*; cocks, *cantant* or *cucurriunt*; wolves, *ululant*; sheep, *balant*; partridges, *cacabant*; young pigs, *grunniunt*; old pigs, *grundiunt*; chickens and boys, *pipant*; men, *loquuntur*; yokels, *jubilant*;² etc. etc.

Ordinary poetry, however, which followed classical models, did not suffice to meet the tastes of the times. It was too long and tedious, perhaps, and was supplemented by what became a favourite amusement, namely, the making of enigmas and riddles, the meaning and answers to which were more or less deftly concealed and had to be guessed. The great model for these was a collection which sometimes passed under the name of Lactantius and was known as *Symposii aenigmata*, either the work of a certain Symposium, or more probably, as Wright says, *sympostaea aenigmata*, "nuts to crack over our wine." The riddles in this collection assigned to Lactantius are 105

¹ See Bishop Browne, *St. Aldhelm*, 320.

² *Ib.* 307.

in number and all arranged in triplets. The following is an example :

A SHIP

*"Longa feror velox formosae filia silvae.
Innumera pariter comitum stipante caterva;
Curro vias multas vestigia nulla relinquens."*

Aldhelm was not content to rigidly follow Lactantius as a model in limiting his enigmas to triplets, but inaugurated a new departure, consisting of enigmas with a larger number of lines. Of these he sends a hundred specimens to his patron, giving a Greek name to each class, namely :

19 of 4 lines . . .	<i>aenigmata tetrasticha.</i>
15 of 5 lines . . .	<i>pentasticha.</i>
13 of 6 lines . . .	<i>hexasticha.</i>
19 of 7 lines . . .	<i>heptasticha.</i>
10 of 8 lines . . .	<i>ostosticha.</i>
11 of 9 lines . . .	<i>enneasticha.</i>
4 of 10 lines . . .	<i>decasticha.</i>
4 of 11 lines . . .	<i>hendecasticha.</i>
1 of 12 lines . . .	<i>dodecastichon.</i>
1 of 13 lines . . .	<i>traicaiidecastichon.</i>
1 of 15 lines . . .	<i>pentecaidecastichon</i> (the example really contains 16).
1 of 16 lines . . .	<i>heccaidecastichon.</i>
1 of 83 or 88 lines (the MSS vary) . . .	<i>aenigmata polystichon.</i> ¹

I will give an example of one of these enigmas in Latin and a translation of a few more.

*"Quamvis aere cavo salpinctis classica clangant;
Et citharae crepitent, strepitique tubae modulentur:
Centenos tamen eructant mea viscera cantus:
Meque strepente stupent mox musica corda fibrarum."*

The answer to this is an organ.

*"Once was I water, full of scaly fish.
My nature changed, by changed decree of fate.
I suffered torments, torrid by the flames,
My face now shines like whitest ash or snow."*

The answer is salt.

*"Forth from the fruitful turf I spring unsown,
My head gleams yellow with its shining flower.
At eve I shut, at sunrise ope again,
Hence the wise Greeks have given my name to me."*

A wallflower (*Heliotropion*).

¹ *Aldhelmi Opp.*, ed. Giles, 249-73.

“ My coat is black and made of wrinkled bark,
 And yet within I have a marrow white ;
 At royal dinners, in the soup and stews
 And other meats I play a proper part,
 But still no virtue would you find in me
 Were not my inside pounded very fine.”

Pepper.

“ Twin sisters we, that share a common lot,
 And by our labour furnish food for all.
 Equal our toil, unequal is our task,
 One sister runs, the other never moves ;
 And yet we feel no envy, each for each.
 Both chew our food, but it we never swallow.
 We break it up and give it freely back.”

A pair of millstones.

One more will suffice :

“ Lo many a draught of Bacchus to make men drunk I save,
 Squeezed by the wine-dresser’s hands from the yellowing bunch
 Which hung from the leafy green of the fruits of the vine,
 Filling with nectar of grape the innkeeper’s booths.
 I swell to the fullest extent with the juice of the vine,
 And yet never feel in myself any evil effect ;
 No, not though the nectar that fills me be drawn from a hundred casks,
 The child of the soil am I, grown up in the loftiest groves,
 My substance is cloven and riven with wedges by rustic hands
 When oaks and when pines in the glades by the axe are o’erthrown.”¹

Answer, a wooden wine-cup.

Turning from his enigmas, I will now give a fair specimen of Aldhelm’s skill in narrative poetry. Here is a description of a storm by him :

“ *Mox igitur coelum nimbosa turbine totum,
 Et convexa poli nigrescunt aethere furvo,
 Murmura vasta sonant flammis commista coruscis
 Et tremuit tellus magno tremebunda fragore
 Humida rorifluis humectant vellera guttis
 Irrigat et terram tenebrosis imbribus aer
 Completur valles, et larga fluenta redundant.*”²

If there is not much poetic fervour in these lines there is certainly music and grace and restraint, and a nice choice of phrases, which one would hardly have expected from a Wessex monk in the year 700 A.D.

¹ Bishop Browne, *op. cit.* 311-312.

² *De Laud. Virg.*, ed. Giles, p. 191.

These were not the only forms of poetry in which he indulged. There had long existed a class of poets who had emancipated themselves from their strict metrical rules and "substituted the harmonies of emphasis or accent and of rhythm for that of metre. It might happen that both would coincide, but this was a matter of chance. The new style, or taste as we may call it, was dependent on the melody of the ear as governed by the artificial distribution of accent, and not to the measure of the syllable as to whether it was long or short, and this presently led to the corruption in the quantities of even well-known Latin words."

Bede defines rhythm as "*verborum modulata compositio, non metrica ratione sed numero syllabarum ad judicium aurium examinata, ut sunt carmina vulgarium poetarum.*"¹ "Thus in a line of eight syllables, by placing the accent or *ictus* on every second syllable, was formed an imitation of iambic tetrameter verse, and by placing it on the first and every second syllable afterwards in succession, an imitation of the trochaic. . . . This form of versification was much admired by the Anglo-Saxons. Not only was the melody more striking, and the composition more easy, but it was consecrated in their eyes by the example of the celebrated St. Ambrose, and by the introduction of hymns composed in that form into their choral service. . . . In all their imitations, however, they are careful to add an ornament which is found only by accident in the original models, the ornament of final rhymes to the lines of each couplet."² These imitations of iambic and trochaic metres were very general among the Anglo-Saxon poets.

Aldhelm was not content with the standard poetry of classical times, nor yet with the variations from it here described, but diverged into other forms consisting partially of his own creation and partially a transference of forms already existing in the vernacular poetry in which he was such an adept. In some of his efforts the difficulty of the metre was increased by the introduction of middle as well as final rhymes in each line, as in this riddle :

"LEBES"

"*Horrida, curva, rapax, patulis fabricata metallis
Pendeo: nec coelum tangens, terramve profundam;
Ignibus ardescens, nec non et gurgite fervens,
Sic geminas vario patior discrimine pugnas
Dum lymphae latices tolero, flamasque feroce.*"

¹ *De arte Metrica*, c. 24, p. 77.

² Lingard, i. 161 and 162.

Acrostics, again, were another form which this verse-making took. There were both single and double; the latter being formed by the combination of the initial and final letters of the lines into a sentence to be read sometimes in a descending, sometimes in an ascending direction. The following beginning of an acrostic by Aldhelm is on his own name :

*"Arbiter, aethereo Jupiter, qui regmine sceptra
Lucefluumque uimul coeli regale tribunaL
Disponis, moderans ceteruis legibus illuD
Horrida nam multans torsisti membra BehemotH
Ex alta quondam meret dum luridus arce
Limpida dictanti metrorum carmina praesuM
Munera nunc largire: rudis quo pandere reruM
Versibus aenigmata queam clandestina fatU
Sic Deus indignis tua gratis dona repentiS."¹*

.

This is a conclusive proof of the way in which his name was spelt.

The acrostic continues with a good many lines, the whole making the sentence "*Aldhelmus cecinit millenis versibus odas*," which probably preserves for us the number of lines of which the aenigmata originally consisted, and which seem to show that the collection of these riddles is now incomplete. Wright says that in one MS. he had seen they contain 764 lines, while the printed text contains 755 lines.

In the double acrostic preceding the treatise on Virginity the key-line reads :

"Metrica tirones nunc promant carmina castos."

The letters of this verse form the initials and concluding letters of the several lines, and had to be read downwards at the beginning and upwards at the end. The whole ended with a puzzle consisting of the key-line reversed thus :

"Sotsac animract Namorp Cnunsenorita cirte."

Aldhelm and his scholars elaborated a still further device, which the same writer says is peculiar to them, namely, the frequent introduction of alliteration, in which there was a repetition of the same letter in the same line or in both lines of the couplet, without attention to the accent. This is found in several short poems by Aldhelm and his scholars. A notable

¹ Giles, *op. cit.* 248.

example is the following by Ethelwald describing his master's appearance, which runs as follows :

“ *Summo satore sobolis
Satus fuisti nobis
Generosa progenitus
Genetrice expeditus,
Statura spectabilis,
Statu et forma agilis
Caput candescens crinibus
Cingunt capilli nitidis
Lucent sub fronte lumina
Lati ceu per culmina
Coeli candescunt calida
Clari fulgoris sidera.* ”¹

As specimens of Aldhelm's own handiwork in this method may be quoted the line,

“ *Pallida, purpureo, pingis qui flore vireta* ”²
and again,

“ *Et potiora cupit quam pulset pectine chordas
Queis psalmista pius psallebat cantibus olim.* ”³

This form of poetry is very interesting to us since, as Lingard says, it was of English invention, or rather, probably, it was adapted to Latin from the old English poems in which alliteration was a marked feature. That it was peculiarly English appears from Ethelwald's letter to Boniface, enclosing the poem last quoted, in which, having no name for it, he describes it as without metre and consisting of eight syllables in the line, with a repetition of the same letter adapted to the course of each line in the couplet, “ *non pedum mensura, elucubratum sed octonis syllabis in uno quolibet versu compositis, una eademque litera comparibus linecarum transmitibus aptata.* ”⁴

His works prove the extent of his reading, although, as Manitius has said of them, he did not apparently have much access to the Latin writers of the Golden Age. He has a single reference to Pliny the younger, three to Cicero—two to his second oration against Verres and the other to that against Piso ; one passage comes from Pliny the elder, and there is a reference to the *Jugurtha* of Sallust, probably taken from Priscian or some other Latin writer. He quotes frequently from Solinus, to whom Isidore of Seville was also much indebted.

¹ Giles, *op. cit.* p. 113. ² *Ib.* p. 136.

³ Wright, 44.

⁴ *Ep. Bonif.*, ep. lxv. Lingard, ii. 164-165.

Among Christian writers he quotes Orosius, but not accurately; the Chronicle of Eusebius in the edition of Jerome; the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory; St. Augustine, of whose *Confessions* he makes a special mention, while he also quotes from his "Free Will," "The Master," and "The Mystic"; Sulpitius Severus, Juvencus, Sidonius Apollinaris, Sedulius very often, Arator and Cornippus and Venantius Fortunatus each a page of citations, of whom he uses the Life of St. Martin, St. Cyprian, St. Cassian, etc. etc.; while he constantly quotes the Latin Bible.¹ Plummer has shown that, like Bede, Aldhelm quotes the Bible both in Jerome's version and the Old Latin.

In addition to these, he knew certain works of the grammarians, such as Donatus and his commentators Sergius and Pompeius, Diomedes, Phocas, Audax, Isidore of Seville, and probably also Virgil the grammarian,² the Encyclopædia of Suetonius known as the *Prata*, and Manitius thinks he also had access to the work on the Cries of Animals.

As Bright says, he was, we cannot doubt, the most popular of monks or priests. His scholars loved him passionately as their most attached teacher of pure learning. "*Mi amantissime purae institutionis präceptor,*" says his scholar Ethelwald in one of his letters to him, and he goes on to relate how he had tenderly watched over them from their early infancy and still continued to watch over them and advise them. He was certainly austere. He denounced the habit of gadding about on horseback (*equitandi vagatione culpabili*), and also drinking bouts and protracted feastings (*conviviis usu frequentiore ac prolixiore inhoneste superfluis*). He advised them to read the Scriptures rather than immoral heathen poetry. (Alas! that he had not been so exacting here.) He bade them also avoid sensuality, to be simple in dress and habits, and to keep in view that the end of all secular knowledge was to better study and know sacred things.³

His popularity as a literary man may be gathered from a letter of St. Boniface, who was continually sending to England for books, and on one occasion prays one of his friends to send him some of those of Aldhelm "to console him amidst his labours with the memorials of that holy bishop."⁴

I am not quite so certain about the continuity suggested by

¹ Manitius, *Sitzungberichte Vienna Acad.*, cxii. 535, etc.

² Roger, *Enseignement des Lettres Classiques*, 291, 292.

³ Bright, 445, 446.

⁴ Wright, 35.

Dr. Bright, and fancy there was a considerable gap between the old British monastery at Glastonbury associated with the name of King Arthur and the one of later times. Great efforts were made afterwards to bridge over this gap, and we have a charter extant which is dated in 670, and professes to be a conveyance of the land at Ferramere to the Abbot of Glastonbury, but two kings' names are confused in the document—in one place he is called Ceadwalla and in another Cenualla.

512 . . . 22.—William of Malmesbury says picturesquely of him : “*conscendit . . . tremulum regni culmen Ceolwulfi.*”¹

VOLUME III

6 . . . 3.—A few features of the monastic life in our English monasteries at this time have escaped mention in the preceding pages. Thus we are told that, while the monks at the earlier date enjoyed a siesta after their noontide meals, St. Dunstan only allowed himself the luxury in summer.² They always slept in their habits and their shoes. There was a separate building for the novices, one reason being that if they wished to return to their secular life they could reveal no secrets. There was also a separate infirmary to which the sick and dying were removed. Thus we read of one monk, “*in cella languidorum deportatur.*”³ Another separate building was the guest-house or hospice, presided over by a *prepositus* or *prior hospitium*, answering to the *fir thigis* or man of hospitality in the Irish monasteries. This was the post held by Cuthberht before he became abbot.⁴

9 . . . 5.—There is a church dedicated to Eata at Attingham or Atcham on the Severn, the birthplace of Ordericus Vitalis, which perhaps took its name from the Saint.

18 . . . 24.—It was later that the Lindisfarne brotherhood incorporated the Benedictine Rule with their own. “*Nobis regularem vitam primum componens constituit quam usque hodie cum regula Benedicti observamus.*”⁵

47 . . . 18.—The feast-day of St. Cuthberht was held at Lindisfarne and was attended in later times by a great crowd of lay-people and clerics, and not only filled the church but all the approaches and the churchyard ; and after the service they sat

¹ *Gesta Regum*, i. 58.

² See Stubbs's *Dunstan*, p. 52.

³ Stubbs's *Dunstan*, p. 147.

⁴ See Plummer, i. xxvi–xxix.

⁵ “*Vit. St. Cuthberhti*,” *Bede op. min.*, p. 271.

together at the tables for their food, regardless of their station or rank. Reginald tells a pitiful story of the stress to which the *dapifer* Gospatric was put to feed them, and how by a miracle St. Cuthberht came to the rescue and supplied the necessary bread, which consisted of those oaten spread-out cakes which we know in Lancashire and Yorkshire. “*Erant tamen,*” says Reginald, “*quidam panum pertenues, et in sui latitudine profusi, et quasi de avenae speciei similitudine cooperti.*”¹

Reginald also tells an interesting story about Norham Church, in which was preserved a cross made of the wood of a table upon which St. Cuthberht had been in the habit of eating his meals, and upon which the whole neighbourhood were accustomed to swear when an oath was required; and he mentions a man who was charged with a crime and had professed his innocence before a proper tribunal, and his readiness to wage battle in proof of his assertion. In this trial he was, in fact, transfixed by a lance. As a preliminary step he went to swear on the cross at his parish church of Norham.²

72 . . . 15.—This platform inside the coffin was put there to prevent the damp from injuring the remains, and its surface was impregnated with wax. The process is thus described by Reginald: “*Tubulam ligneam componunt, . . . quam de mane usque ad vesperam secus torridos ignes calefactam, liquefribus ceris insciunt, et quantum possibile erat, eam tali liquoris dulcedine infuderunt.*”³

118 . . . 3.—At Durham there still remain two other books which seem to be of a date coeval with Cuthberht (A, ii. 16 and A, n. 17), the former containing the four Gospels, and the latter John, Luke, and Mark. MS. A, ii. 22 contains at the beginning and end portions of a still older copy of the Gospels.

The most ancient MS. in the Library, however, is A, iv. 19, a Latin Ritual with an interlinear Anglian version added at a later time, which Wanley ascertained to be in the same handwriting as that in the Lindisfarne Gospels, namely, Aldred the priest. It was known as the Prayer-book of Alfred the Great, doubtless, as Raine says, from a mistake between the names Alfred and Aldred. This book contains additions in another hand, and is described in Rud's *Cat. of the Durham MSS.*⁴

186 . . . 18.—In Murray's *Guide to Kent* it is said that

¹ *Op. cit.* ch. xxii.

² Reginald, ch. lvii.

³ *Op. cit.* ch. xl.

⁴ See Raine, *St. Cuthberht*, 34 and 35, note.

fragments of St. Eanswitha's monastery still remain in the vicarage garden at Folkestone. Miss Arnold-Forster says the town seal still bears a figure of the Saint carrying two fish in a half loop. She adds that a second dedication to the Saint occurs in the dedication of a little church at Brenzett, between Rye and Romney.¹

195 . . . 36.—In MS. D of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Bede, in a fifteenth-century hand, Heiu is written above Bega as if they were synonyms. Leland and others also identify them. In the margin we read: “*Sta. Bega anglice Seynt Bee qui locus jam est cella monasterie Stae. Marie Ebor.*” The twelfth-century Life of the saint is MS. Cott. Faust. B, iv. Its author confesses he had no reliable materials for the Life save the notice of the miracles performed by her remains.

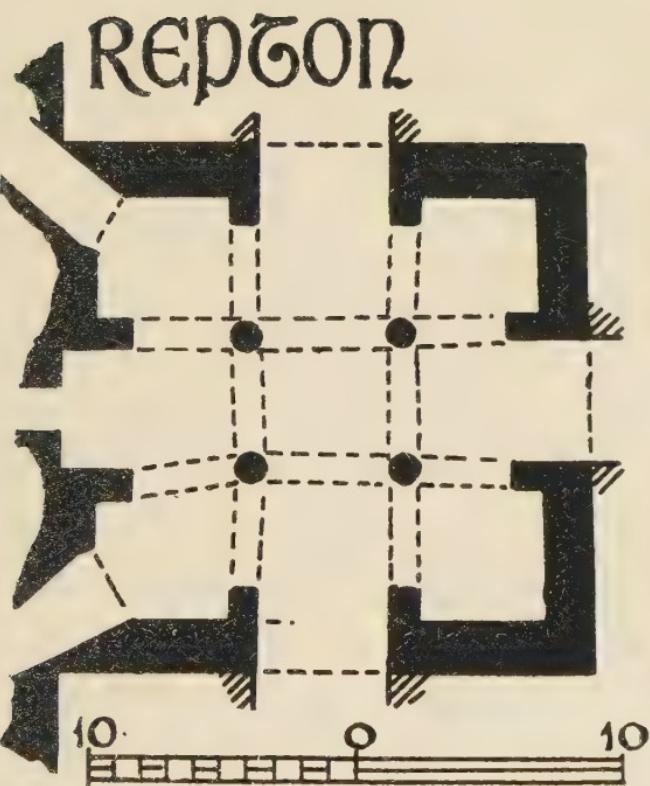
212 . . . 20.—According to Rudborne there was also buried at Repton, Kynehardus, the brother of Sigeberht, King of the West Saxons.²

The first Mercian King recorded to have been buried at Repton was Æthelbald, who, according to “The Continuation of Bede,” our best authority, died in 757. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and, following it, Florence put it in 750, and the latter says he died at Secceswald (Seckington, in Warwickshire) and was buried at Repton. Repton was captured by the Danes in 874, when we can hardly doubt that as usual they utterly ruined the church and its contents. The former was rebuilt in the reign of Eadgar. A discussion has arisen in regard to its crypt, as to whether it does not belong wholly or in part to the earlier building.

I think the views of Mr. Irving and Dr. Cox in regard to it will prevail. Dr. Cox holds (*Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*) that the vault had not been originally groined and vaulted, and that the outer walls with their nearly obliterated chapels or recesses and their remarkable cornice belong to the old lower chancel or crypt of the celebrated Repton monastery, destroyed by the Danes in 874, while the groin and its sustaining pillars belong to Eadgar’s time, when the church was re-dedicated to St. Wistan, who lived in the second half of the eighth century. Cnut transferred his relics from Repton to Evesham.³ Others have argued that the crypt belongs entirely to Eadgar’s reign.

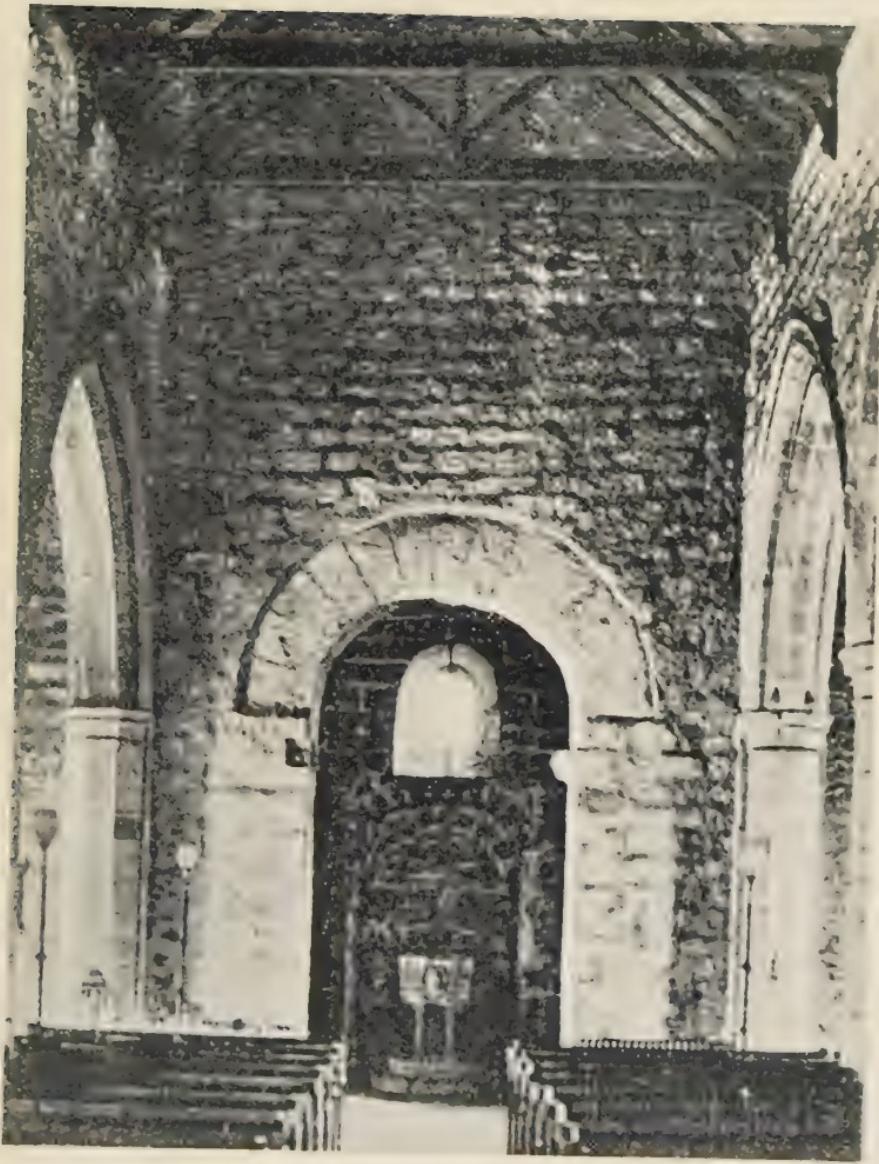
I have contented myself with giving a ground plan of the crypt and a view of the columns.

¹ *Op. cit.* ii. 357. ² *Anglia Sacra*, i. 196. ³ Hardy, *Cat.*, i. 473.



PLAN OF THE CRYPT AT REPTON.

[Vol. III., facing p. 386]



INTERIOR OF THE EAST END OF THE CHURCH AT CORBRIDGE.

[Vol. III., facing p. 386.]

There is another church which several good judges have considered to be at least in part of an early Saxon date, namely, that of Saint Andrew at Corbridge. It is first definitely mentioned by Simeon of Durham under the year 786.¹ Mr. Hodges, in his paper on "The Pre-Conquest Churches of Northumbria,"² has discussed its date with considerable skill. The original church consisted of a nave with a porticus or chapel porch at the west end, over which latter was in later times built the modern tower. Mr. Hodges thinks it was a foundation of St. Wilfrid's, and that a portion of the walls of his church still remain.

213 . . . 31.—Thomas of Ely says of St. Huna: "*qui de ordine Monachorum et Presbiter S. Ætheldredae fuisse perhibetur.*" He performed the funeral service over his mistress and afterwards retired to a little island in the marshes called Huneya after him. There he lived the life of an anchorite, and miracles were performed at his grave.³ His stone coffin was afterwards broken open, and his remains were abstracted and taken to Ely.

213 . . . 34.—In the *Historia Eliensis* Ely is described as seven miles long from "Cotingelade" to "Littleporte" or to Abbotesdelf, then called Biscopesdelf, and in breadth four miles from Cherchewere to the lake of Straham (*ad mare de Straham*); with the adjacent islands (*cum insulis per girum*) beside (*Dudintone*), which was outside the island, in which were *villulae* and woods with their appendent islanders, together with some rich pasture lands.

Attached to the island was also Chateriz, where there was an abbey of nuns, the district (*pagus*) of Witleseya, *i.e.* Whittlesea, and the monks' abbey of Thorneia, *i.e.* Thorney. The island formed two Hundreds in the county of Cambridge. Its bounds were from the middle of the bridge of Detro as far as Upwere, and from Biscopesdelf as far as the river by Burch (*i.e.* Peterborough) which is called Nen, in the province of the Gyrvii.⁴

214 . . . 16.—At Cratendune, when Thomas of Ely wrote,⁵ was an old site (probably Roman) where iron utensils and royal money had been found. At Ely Ætheldrytha built a house and then a town. There St. Augustine was reputed to have built a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, with the help of Æthelberht. It was said to have been destroyed under Penda. The story is doubtless a fable.

¹ *Gesta Regum.*

² *Reliquary*, 893.

⁴ See Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. xli.

³ *Anglia Sacra*, i. 600.

⁵ See Wharton, xli. and xlii.

218 . . . 37.—Stukeley says that the Rev. J. Bentham, the historian of Ely, copied the inscription at Haddenham when a lad at Cambridge. It then formed the foot of a cross, and ended with the word Amen.¹

219 . . . 17.—The name of the isle of Sheppey, or Sheep's Island, was a translation of its former name Malata, from the British *molht*, a sheep, whence the French *mouton*.

220 . . . 25.—Weodon is described as St. Werburgh's palace, which she converted into a nunnery. It is now called Weedon-on-the-Street, or Wedon Bec. Her steward, having been cruel to her servant named Ailwoth, was punished. He afterwards became a hermit, and was murdered and buried at Stowe, near Buccabrok.

230 . . . 20.—Lullus sent to Abbess Cyneburga a present of pepper and cinnamon. He also sent to Eadburga, Abbess of Thanet, "*Storacis(?) et cinnamomi partem aliquam*."² Theophylactus, Archdeacon of Rome, sent to Boniface some cinnamon, "*costum*" (? a kind of pepper), and incense as a present to Archbishop Boniface.

Since the first Appendix to this volume was written, the important work of Miss Arnold-Forster on the dedications of English churches has fallen into my hands. In it she has discussed the lives of the English noble lady saints in an interesting and detailed account. I propose to set out here such facts about them as I had overlooked.

Speaking of St. Hilda, she points out that the church at Whitby was not dedicated to her until the twelfth century, when the great Benedictine monastery whose ruins we all know so well was founded, and when it was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Hilda. She adds that the ring of Hilda churches round Whitby, most of them dating from the Norman period, were probably possessions of the Benedictine House. Among them was an old chapel with a monastic cemetery which once stood at Middlesbrough, but has entirely disappeared. Near Whitby is the village of Hinderwell, once called Hilderwell, after the Saint. Irekirk, in Cumberland, where an early forest hermitage once existed, is said to be a corruption of Hildkirk. Another church at Lucker, in Northumberland, bears the Saint's name. In Yorkshire are nine ancient dedications to her besides the Abbey of

¹ *Liber Eliensis*, i. 8, note.

² *Mon. Mag.*, 110.

Whitby; while at South Shields and Hartlepool are two other dedications.¹

Of St. Æbbe, Miss Arnold-Forster says, *inter alia*, that her fondness for building on headlands, or "nabs" as they are called in the North country dialect, has been noted in a local rhyme showing the different situations favoured by the different Northern saints, thus:—

"St. Abb, St. Helen, and St. Bey (Bee),
They a' built kirks whilk be near to the sea :
St. Abb's upon the nabs,
St. Helen's on the lea,
St. Bey's upon the Dunbar sands
Stands nearest to the sea."

St. Æbbe's oldest foundation was doubtless the church at Ebchester, on the Derwent, at the boundary line between Northumberland and Durham, named after her and built in the Roman Castrum in which she planted it. At Ferry Hill, south of Durham, was a ruined chapel belonging to the monks of Durham, doubtless built after the translation of the Saint and dedicated to her and St. Nicholas. At Beadness, on the Northumberland coast, not far from Bamburgh, is a headland called Ebb's Nook, where was a cell of the Coldingham Monastery. In far-off Oxford is a church dedicated to St. Æbbe which is mentioned as early as 1005. Anthony à Wood notes its dedication feast as being on 15th October. Another distant memorial of her is a now-desecrated church at Shelswell, Buckinghamshire, also dedicated to her.²

The next Abbess to be recalled is St. Milburga.³ Like St. Werburga, she was credited with protecting the crops against depredation by wild geese, etc. Hence a mediæval rhyme quoted by Mr. E. P. Brock in the *British Arch. Journal*, vol. xli., says:—

"If old dame Mil will our fields look over,
Safe will be corn and grass and clover;
But if the old dame is gone fast to sleep,
Woe to our corn, grass, clover, and sheep."

A goose was the distinctive emblem of St. Milburga.

Besides those I have mentioned earlier,⁴ Miss Arnold-Forster speaks of a church dedicated to her across the Welsh border at

¹ *Op. cit.* ii. 396-401.

² *Vide ante*, iii. 210-212.

³ *Ib.* 291-295.

⁴ *Ante*, p. 211.

Llairvello, in Brecknockshire. A colony of Cluniac monks went from Wenlock to Paisley and built a church in the latter place to her memory.¹

Miss Arnold-Forster, in describing the various churches dedicated to St. Audrey, especially recalls the magnificent series of carvings in the capitals of the pillars supporting the great lantern at Ely, representing scenes in the life of its patron saint, who is also represented in a stained-glass window in the same place, which, like the carvings just mentioned, date from the twelfth century. She mentions twelve dedications altogether as recording the Saint, *i.e.* the parish of West Quantoxhead, in Somersetshire, otherwise known as St. Audries; Hyssington, in Shropshire; and Horley, in Oxfordshire; while the rest are either in East Anglia or have a special tie with Ely. Formerly there were churches commemorating her at Thetford in Norfolk, and Histon in Cambridgeshire; a church at Norwich, another at Mundham, in Norfolk; Bishops Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, connected with Ely since King Eadgar's time; Totteridge, in the same county; West Halton, in Lincolnshire, on the Humber near Wintringham, identified by Bentham in his *Ely* with the Alftham of the legend. In the old chapel dedicated to the Saint in Ely Place, Holborn (a relic of the London palace of the Bishops of Ely, and now a Roman Catholic church), is still exhibited a reliquary professing to contain a portion of the incorruptible hand of the Saint, reported to have been found a century ago in an old farmhouse belonging to the Duke of Norfolk.²

I forgot to mention (which was a real oversight) that St. Audrey, whose life was hardly exemplary, is commemorated in the English Calendar in the Prayer Book on the 17th October, being the only English female saint so honoured.

Of St. Sexburga's church at Sheppey, Miss Arnold-Forster says it was specially known as "the Minster," and more particularly as Minster in Sheppey, to distinguish it from St. Mildred's Minster in Thanet. In Henry the Second's reign it was re-dedicated to SS. Mary and Sexburga.

In regard to St. Werburga's churches, Miss Arnold-Forster identifies Trickingham with the modern Trentham. She adds to the dedications mentioned by me, Spondon in Derbyshire, where the church is dedicated to her jointly with the Virgin. Warburton in Cheshire, it is suggested, is a corruption of

¹ Miss Arnold-Forster, *op. cit.* ii. 379-381.

² *Ib.* 363-369.

Werburgh's Town. In King John's time a monastery existed there dedicated to God and SS. Mary and Werburgh. The name of St. Werburga is of course most closely connected with Chester, where William of Malmesbury says she and her mother Ermenilda were both held in high honour. Her original monastery there was destroyed by the Danes and apparently rebuilt by Eadgar. This later foundation was dedicated to SS. Werburgh and Oswald. In the time of William Rufus, regular Benedictine Canons were substituted for some very irregular ones who were there before.¹ It was then apparently that the double dedication came to an end and each of the Saints had a separate church. St. Oswald's is still one of the parish churches of the city, while the Abbey Church continued to be dedicated to St. Werburga till Henry the Eighth in 1520 rededicated it to Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary.²

Miss Arnold-Forster says of St. Mildred, that a raised green path in a wooded lane near Minster is still called St. Mildred's Lynd. Churches dedicated to her once existed at Oxford and Ipswich, at Whippingham in the Isle of Wight, and in the City of London, where two churches were known as St. Mildred, Bread Street, and St. Mildred, Poultry. Her churches in Kent are at Canterbury, Tenterden, Nurstead, and Preston.³

In regard to Æthelburga, the Abbess of Barking in Essex, and the doubts of Bishop Stubbs about her having been the same person as the saint to whom St. Æthelburga's Church in Bishopsgate is dedicated, Miss Arnold-Forster points out the fact of the proximity of this church to All Hallows, Barking, a well-known City possession of the great monastic house down in Essex. Its situation in "Bishopsgate," the very gate of the City supposed to have been erected by Bishop Eorconwald, and to have taken its name from him, strengthen the case in favour of the Abbess of Barking.⁴

Miss Arnold-Forster devotes some pages to what I deem the hopeless task of trying to resuscitate the personality of St. Osyth, whom I left out of my memoir on the high-born Saxon ladies who became nuns. I did so because I could make neither head nor tail of the strange mass of contradictions involved in her whole story, and which have not been removed by her champion's chivalrous pleading. The case against her by Bishop Stubbs seems to me overwhelming. She is first named in Malmesbury's

¹ Malmesbury, ii. 13.

² See Arnold-Forster, *op. cit.* ii. 377.

³ *Ib.* p. 362.

⁴ *Op. cit.* ii. 384.

Gesta Pontificum, which was completed in 1125, who mentions Cic (now Chick) as the resting-place of "the blessed Osytha, a virgin famous for miracles." Her wonderful "Life" occurred in a lost work by John of Tinemouth called *Sanctilogium*, written about 1366, whence Capgrave copied it. It was taken by John of Tinemouth from an anonymous life written later than Maurice, Bishop of London, who was mentioned in it and who flourished 1086-1108. We therefore know of no authority at all for her existence before the twelfth century. Its contents are literally impossible to reconcile with the facts of Anglo-Saxon history, except by forsaking the methods of historical criticism. They are admirably analysed by Stubbs, who says of them, *inter alia*: "The *Vita* is burdened with prodigies. . . . The story labours under incurable anachronisms defying all Suysken's art.¹ . . . The saint is just a name imposed on the place to create a fictitious sanctity for Bishop Richards' foundation. He ruled from 1108 to 1128."

By inadvertence I have overlooked a story told by Bede in the fourteenth chapter of the fifth book of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which deserves to be reported since it presents a phase of the incredible bigotry which then and still dominates some of the teachers of men. Bede says he knew "a brother" whom he wished he had not known, and who was a smith (*fabrile arte singularis*). He did not care to mention his name, but he lived in a noble monastery, where he passed his days ignobly. Although he had often been reproved and admonished by the elders and brothers of the place, he took no heed of them, and they put up with him patiently, for he was an excellent carpenter. He was an habitual drunkard and dissolute in other ways, and instead of going to church to sing and pray and hear the Word of Life with the brethren, used to spend his time day and night in the workshop. Presently he fell sick, and being at his latter end, summoned the brethren, and reported to them with much lamentation, and like one damned, that he had seen hell open and Satan at the bottom of the pit, with Caiaphas and others who had slain our Lord, and had been condemned to avenging flames. "There," as he said, "I saw a place of eternal perdition prepared for me." Thereupon the brethren again pressed him to repent while he was in the flesh. He replied that he had no time now to change

¹ i.e. the art of its very ingenious editor in the *Acta Sanctorum* for October, vol. iii. p. 936.

his life, for he had seen his judgment accomplished. He thereupon died without the saving viaticum (*sine viatico salutis*), was buried in the remotest part of the cemetery, and no one dared to say masses, or sing psalms, or even to pray for him. This unhappy wretch, says Bede, saw his own person among the fiends, so that despairing of salvation he might die the more miserably, and so that many among the living might be saved by contemplating his fate. "This happened lately," he adds, "in the province of the Bernicians, and being reported far and wide, induced many to abandon their sins, which we hope may also be the result of our narrative."

It is clear that the tendency to deal harshly with the impenitent was growing. Prayers for them, according to Ramsay, were allowed in the early Church, but were forbidden in Theodore's time.

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